DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 166 321 UD 019 118

TITLE Inequalities in the Educational Experiences of Black and White Americans. Hearing before the Task Force on Human Resources of the Committee on the Budget, House of Representatives, Ninety-Fifth Congess, Second Session.

INSTITUTION Congress of the U.S., Washington, D.C. House Committee on the Budget.

PUB DATE 78

NOTE 52p.; For a related document, see ED 150 228 ; Not available in hard copy due to small type

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.

DESCRIPTORS Achievement; *Blacks; *Compensatory Education; Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; *Equal Education; *Federal Aid; *Hearings; *School Integration; Social Factors

IDENTIFIERS *Elementary Secondary Education Act Title I

ABSTRACT

In these hearings, the testimony of Dr. Ronald R. Edmonds (senior assistant to the chancellor for instruction, New York City Public Schools, New York City Board of Education), Dr. Paul Hill (social scientist, The Rand Corporation) and Dr. Kenneth S. Tollett (Director, Institute for the Study of Education Policy, Howard University) is recorded. Testimony focuses on the current status of black Americans, black-white educational disparities, desegregation problems, school response to family background as it affects achievement, differences between lower achieving and higher achieving schools, public policy and compensatory education. (WI)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED166321

JAN 2 5 1979

INEQUALITIES IN THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF BLACK AND WHITE AMERICANS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

TASK FORCE ON HUMAN RESOURCES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

SEPTEMBER 27, 1978

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Budget

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

UD019118

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

35-115 O WASHINGTON : 1978 TF-6-95-41

THE COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

ROBERT N. GIAIMO, Connecticut, *Chairman*

JIM WRIGHT, Texas
THOMAS L. ASHLEY, Ohio
ROBERT L. LEGGETT, California
PARREN J. MITCHELL, Maryland
OMAR BURLESON, Texas
LOUIS STOKES, Ohio
ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN, New York
BUTLER DERRICK, South Carolina
OTIS G. PIKE, New York
DONALD FRASER, Minnesota
DAVID R. OBEY, Wisconsin
WILLIAM LEHMAN, Florida
PAUL SIMON, Illinois
JOSEPH L. FISHER, Virginia
NORMAN Y. MINETA, California
JIM MATTOX, Texas

DELBERT L. LATTA, Ohio
JAMES T. BROYHILL, North Carolina
BARBER B. CONABLE, Jr., New York
MARJORIE S. HOLT, Maryland
JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, California
JOHN J. DUNCAN, Tennessee
CLAIR W. BURGENER, California
RALPH S. REGULA, Ohio

MACE BROIDE, *Executive Director*
WENDELL BELEW, *Chief Counsel*
BRUCE MEREDITH, *Assistant Director, Budget Priorities*

TASK FORCE ON HUMAN RESOURCES

PARREN J. MITCHELL, Maryland, *Chairman*

LOUIS STOKES, Ohio
OTIS G. PIKE, New York
DAVID R. OBEY, Wisconsin
PAUL SIMON, Illinois

CLAIR W. BURGENER, California

NATHANIEL THOMAS, *Administrator*
ALAIR TOWNSEND, *Senior Analyst*
NICHOLAS A. MASTERS, *Director, Majority Associate Staff*

CONTENTS

Statement of—	Page
Edmonds, Dr. Ronald R., senior assistant to the chancellor for instruction, New York City Public Schools, New York City Board of Education	10
Hill, Dr. Paul, social scientist, The Rand Corp	26
Tollett, Dr. Kenneth S., director, Institute for the Study of Education Policy, Howard University	3
Additional information submitted for the record by—	
Edmonds, Dr. Ronald R., prepared statement	18
Hill, Dr. Paul:	
Prepared statement	36
"Summer Drop-Off and the Effectiveness of Compensatory Instruction," article submitted with enclosed tables and chart	28
Table 1.—City M Means and Standard Deviations in Grade Equivalents for the Gates-MacGinitie Reading Tests by Grade for Public School Students With at Least Three Consecutive Test Points	29
Table 2.—City M Achievement Gains and Monthly Rates Based on Two Different Periods of Time for Public School Students With at Least Three Consecutive Test Points	30
Table 3.—Mean Reading and Math Scores for Five Cohorts of Students Over Three Test Administrations	31
Table 4.—Spring-Fall Changes in Mean Reading and Math Scores for Five Cohorts of Students	31
Figure 1.—Forgetting	32
Figure 2.—No Growth in Summer	32
Table 5.—Ratio of Summer to School Gains for Disadvantaged Students Who Attended Summer School	34
Tollett, Dr. Kenneth S., list of authors and publications entitled, "Appendix A"	9

INEQUALITIES IN THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF BLACK AND WHITE AMERICANS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1978

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
TASK FORCE ON HUMAN RESOURCES,
COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C.

The task force met, pursuant to notice, at 9:40 a.m., in room 210, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Parren J. Mitchell, chairman, presiding.

Mr. MITCHELL. This hearing will now come to order.

Before proceeding to the formal part of the hearing, I want to make two brief announcements.

First, I want to welcome those persons in the field of education who are sitting in on these hearings. Some of these persons, in the Washington area, have worked very well with the Congressional Black Caucus Brain Trust on Education, and I appreciate your attendance here this morning.

The second announcement, the House, God bless it, will go into session at 10 o'clock, which means we will probably have interruptions.

I really do not think that it is very important that I cast a vote whether or not the House should dissolve itself into the Committee of the Whole. I think that is silly; however, when we have recorded votes, I must record my vote.

I hope that other members of the task force will be joining us. This is a most difficult time for the Congress as we proceed toward an adjournment sine die, which is anticipated around October 13. Members are stretched over various hearings, but I do anticipate that there will be other members joining us this morning.

In America as elsewhere, education remains the basis for equality of opportunity for the individual. As such, educational excellence is consistent with American ideals regarding the improvement of society. In part, as an outgrowth of this ideal, the Supreme Court in its 1954 decision, *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, city of Topeka, Kans., delineated a framework to end school segregation. Presumably, desegregation of schools meant that one of the major impediments to quality in education for blacks had been eliminated and, thus, improvements in the standard of living of black Americans would be forthcoming. While there has been some progress in the educational attainment and achievement of blacks, we nonetheless continue to experience inequalities in our educational experience and, consequently, we receive lower incomes and earnings than do whites.

At an earlier hearing, it was revealed that although blacks comprise about 11 percent of the total population, we make up more than one-quarter—27.2 percent—of the 1-year poor and two-fifths—44.5 percent—of the 9-year poor based on income before taxes and income transfers. And if one considers income from all sources, the black-white differences are even more pronounced—41.3 percent of the 1-year poor are black but if we look at in poverty over a 9-year period, 77 percent are black.

The experience of blacks in education unfortunately does not vary significantly from the experience of blacks with respect to income. Black students continue to have lower rates of achievement than do white students. Fewer black students graduate from high school, more black children are functionally illiterate, and fewer attend college and graduate school. Ironically, inequalities in the educational experiences of black and white Americans persist because of a variety of factors—different school resources, segregated schooling, and the inappropriateness of standard programs for many black students.

However, if we are to improve the economic status of blacks then it is undeniable that we must eliminate the educational disparities that exist between white and black Americans. The purpose of today's hearing is to examine black/white education disparities and the significant contributing factors; the specific methods and programs which have produced positive results in educating low-income and black students, and how public policy and funding can be best directed toward eliminating the black/white education gap.

I am delighted to welcome Dr. Ronald R. Edmonds, lecturer and research associate, Harvard University, and senior assistant to the chancellor for instruction, New York City Public Schools; Dr. Paul T. Hill, senior social scientist with the Rand Corp., and of course Dr. Kenneth S. Tollett, director for the Institute of Education Policy, Howard University.

I would suggest a method of proceeding which is as follows: That all three of the witnesses come to the table at the same time. We have copies of two of the witnesses' statements, one copy just came late which I have not read.

In order to expedite the proceedings, if you so desire, you do not have to read your entire statement. If you so desire, you may extract the most salient points from it. On the other hand you may read your statement in its entirety.

Gentlemen, will you please come to the witness table?

May I simply remark as an aside that Monday during the hearing on black/white differentials in earned income, someone made reference to the fact that the two members of the committee who were in attendance were males and the entire panel yesterday was made up of males. We have a similar situation this morning.

Let me issue my own mea culpa: There was no intent to manifest even the slightest symptom of male chauvinism. It just happened.

Gentlemen, welcome. Might I suggest that Dr. Tollett lead off, followed by Dr. Edmonds and Dr. Hill?

Again, thank you for taking time from your very busy schedules to be a part of this hearing. We are most grateful.

STATEMENT OF DR. KENNETH S. TOLLETT, DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION POLICY, HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Dr. TOLLETT. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am honored and pleased to appear before you this morning to provide some information on the educational differentials between black and white Americans. I am especially honored to appear before the task force with you, Chairman Mitchell, because of your outstanding work on behalf of the economically disadvantaged. Before discussing the educational differentials, I would like to do two things. First, I should like to say a word about the institute and, second, I should like to place the educational differentials in context by reviewing generally and very briefly the current status of black Americans.

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The Institute for the Study of Educational Policy grew out of the need for a commission on the education of black Americans. With a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation, the institute was established in 1974 as a clearinghouse for information and a research center on blacks and other underprivileged groups in higher education.

The institute has produced eight major volumes on various aspects of the status of blacks in higher education. Just yesterday we announced the publication of "The Case for Affirmative Action for Blacks in Higher Education" by Dr. John E. Fleming, Gerald Gill, and Dr. David Swinton, all of the staff of the institute. Tomorrow we will announce the publication of "Equal Educational Opportunity: More Promise Than Progress", the second annual report of the institute on the status and situation of blacks in higher education. These volumes have grown out of the most sustained, rigorous, and comprehensive research on social and political policy as it relates to blacks in the United States. A fundamental notion directing all of our works is that if we can find and communicate the truth, the truth will set blacks free.

In appendix A of this statement is listed all of the publications of the institute. If there are any questions about any of them, I shall be pleased to try to answer them.

THE CURRENT STATUS OF BLACK AMERICANS

Although it is generally known that black Americans are not as well off as white Americans, it frequently is not known how much worse off blacks are than whites. For almost every valued condition or circumstance, blacks are grossly underrepresented; for almost every disvalued or stigmatized situation, blacks are overrepresented. Of course the worse off condition is not just related to black/white educational disparities. The blacks' disfavored position can be seen whether you are looking at land, housing, wealth, health, life expectancy, infant mortality, median income, unemployment rate, or vocational and professional status.

I doubt if the public or, for that matter, many blacks realize how much ground they have lost literally. For more than two generations the amount of property owned and controlled by blacks has

dwindled alarmingly. Blacks own and control barely one-third of the acreage which they owned and controlled in 1910—a decline from 16 million acres to little more than 5 million acres.

I can think of no way of stating compendiously the black situation than quoting at length from the concurring and dissenting opinion of Justice Thurgood Marshall in the *Bakke* case. He wrote:

> The position of the Negro today in America is the tragic but inevitable consequence of centuries of unequal treatment. Measured by any benchmark of comfort or achievement, meaningful equality remains a distant dream for the Negro.
>
> A Negro child today has a life expectancy which is shorter by more than five years than that of a white child. The Negro child's mother is over three times more likely to die of complications in childbirth, and the infant mortality for Negroes is nearly twice that for whites. The median income of the Negro family is only 60 percent that of the median of a white family, and the percentage of Negroes who live in families with incomes below the poverty line is nearly four times greater than that of whites.
>
> When the Negro child reaches working age, he finds that America offers him significantly less than it offers his white counterpart. For Negro adults, the unemployment rate is twice that of whites, and the unemployment rate for Negro teenagers is nearly three times that of white teenagers. A Negro male who completes four years of college can expect a median annual income of merely $110 more than a white male who has only a high school diploma. Although Negroes represent 11.5 percent of the population, they are only 1.2 percent of the lawyers and judges, 2 percent of the physicians, 2.3 percent of the dentists, 1.1 percent of the engineers, and 2.6 percent of the college and university professors.
>
> The relationship between those figures and the history of unequal treatment afforded to the Negro cannot be denied. At every point from birth to death, the impact of the past is reflected in the still disfavored position of the Negro.
>
> In light of the sorry history of discrimination and its devastating impact on the lives of Negroes, bringing the Negro into the mainstream of American life should be a State interest of the highest order. To fail to do so is to ensure that America will forever remain a divided society.

A careful analysis of the economic status of blacks indicates that " * * * even if blacks had all the characteristics of white workers—the same average amount of education, same representation in unions, the same percentage living in higher wage and urban areas and so on—their wages would be about 20 percent lower than whites' wages." This indicates that racism and societal discrimination against blacks in America are still pervasive.

The above brief observations on the general status of black Americans should provide an adequate background for a discussion of black/white educational disparities.

BLACK-WHITE EDUCATIONAL DISPARITIES

Historically, blacks have sought to obtain liberty, equality, and justice through two principal means. Those two means have been education and law. Emphasis upon these means has meant that most blacks have always wanted to become full citizen participants in the U.S. social order rather than to subvert it. In spite of an uneven record of obtaining success through both means, they on the whole have served blacks well in the long run. Thus, I would maintain that it is wise for blacks to continue to seek progress through working within the system, particularly through the institutions of law and education.

However, heavy reliance upon law and education has given rise to a number of problems. As blacks experience higher levels of participation in educational enterprise, particularly in its post-secondary component, there is emerging in society a claim that too

much emphasis is being put upon education. One author has even argued that we are becoming an overeducated society. I submit that it is most unlikely that an industrial democracy can become overeducated, for a highly educated citizenry is indispensable for both intelligent self-government and economic progress. It is remarkable that, generally, it is the highly educated who raise the most persistent and negative questions about higher education.

This phenomenon may be the product of the adversary proclivity and the excessively escalated expectations of well-educated people. It would be a melancholy irony if critical intellects and persons with high aspirations urged policies which prevented their own perpetuation and expansion. The severest critics, no matter how highly educated, never seem to offer to renounce or return their degrees. And although some highly educated critics of higher education express the wish that they had been trained in some other discipline, they never say that they wished they had significantly less knowledge, learning, and intellectual skills than they have.

The above observations are made to make it clear that, although there are significant educational difficulties and disparities experienced by blacks, education is still one of the best vehicles for delivering the wherewithal for obtaining justice and parity.

Because the institute primarily researches post-secondary or higher educational policy, I will focus principally upon black/white educational disparities in higher education, deriving much of my information from "Equal Educational Opportunity: More Promise Than Progress", the second status report of the institute, and the third status report of the institute which is now in the first draft stage. Our status report attempts to assess and review equal educational opportunity.

An assessment as to the extent of equal educational opportunity can be gained by comparing the access, distribution, and persistence of blacks and whites. Access to higher education is defined as the opportunity to enroll in college. Distribution refers to choice, in both the type of institutions students attend and the fields of study they enter. Persistence means completing the degree sought.

In 1976 the total population of Americans aged 18 through 23 was estimated at 28,163,000. Of this the black population was 3,535,000 or 12.55 percent. The percent of black students among all higher education students, however, in 1976 was only 9.3.

In absolute numbers, from 1974 to 1976 the access to college for blacks increased. This was consistent with but greater than increases in enrollment for the population as a whole. Appropriate enrollment totals for blacks were increased by 728,680 students from 306,000 in 1964 to 1,034,680 in 1976. Throughout the period we can see an increase in the enrollment of blacks, but they have not reached fully proportional representation, although we know from blacks who graduate from high school they do go on to college at about the same rate as whites go on. White enrollment totals increased by 5,314,642 from 4,888,000 in 1964 to 10,202,642 in 1976. However, this is offset considerably when one considers the population as a whole. "By 1977 the number of college-age blacks 18 to 24 years old has increased at almost twice the rate of whites in that age group. Including an increase in the older black population, the overall effect is that the black population grew by 11 percent

compared to 4.8 percent for whites in the year prior to July 1977." Thus, total enrollment increases to an extent reflect general population increases. In addition, these increases do not reflect the career choices of the black college-age population. The aspirations of black students are equal to or higher than those of their white counterparts, but their enrollment is consistently lower. In 1973, 77 percent of black high school seniors wanted to go to college but only 43 percent enrolled. In 1974, again only about half actually enrolled—82 percent wanted to go and 43 percent enrolled. Of the white high school seniors, of the 72 percent who wanted to attend in 1973, 48 percent enrolled. Out of the 82 percent who wanted to go in 1974, 55 percent actually enrolled.

The distribution of black enrollment demonstrates the growing dichotomy in higher education in which black students attend the less costly public institutions. In 1976, of the 1,034,680 students in higher education, 832,866 were enrolled in public institutions, of which 429,293 were in 2-year colleges. Much of the increase in public colleges was due to the rapid expansion of 2-year colleges during the 1960's. Attendance in such institutions, especially 2-year colleges, is a high-risk endeavor since the dropout rate is higher and those who graduate are the least likely to be recruited for better-paying careers and graduate and professional schools.

Persistence, like distribution, has not improved as significantly as access. The completion of college of young black adults lagged more than 14 years behind that of whites as of 1974. In that year approximately 8 percent of all blacks completed at least 4 years of college. This was about 3 percent less than whites in 1960. In other words, it has taken blacks 14 years to arrive at 8 percent attending college; whites were at 11 percent in 1960. So there is a 14-year lag in our trying to catch up.

The most important barriers to access, distribution, and persistence in college are family income, race, and high school noncompletion.

In 1973 blacks represented 13 percent of all persons 16 to 21 years old, yet blacks constituted 21 percent of the high school dropouts. In 1974 blacks represented 13 percent of all persons 16 to 21 years of age and constituted 19 percent of the high school dropouts. During this same period the percentage of all white high school dropouts went from 79 percent to 82 percent. However, with whites representing 86 percent of the population as opposed to 13 percent black, blacks are still overrepresented. In 1977, 24 percent of blacks aged 18 to 24 had dropped out of high school as opposed to 15 percent of whites. This loss to the college availability pool not only impedes the attainment of parity for blacks, but places strain on society as a whole when people are not afforded the opportunity to contribute to the society rather than live off it. Blacks are overrepresented among high school dropouts for reasons related to the interaction of race and family income in that being black highly correlates with a lower family income which is directly linked to being a high school dropout. Three out of every four dropouts in 1974 were from families with incomes less than $15,000; 68 percent of black college freshmen report family incomes under $10,000 against only 17 percent of whites so reporting at public institutions.

Family income also serves as a measure of a student's possible performance on standardized tests, another barrier to higher education. Numerous studies have shown that the level of test scores is related to the parental income level. MCAT data for 1975 and 1976 show an almost perfect correlation between best scores and income. Only at the $50,000 or more cohort did test scores begin to decline slightly, not increase, as the amount of money went up. The MCAT data also show acceptance rates to medical schools rising almost 2 percent at each higher income cohort. The exception is between the $10,000–$11,999 and the $12,000 to $14,000 cohorts where the increase was only 0.1 percent.

In addition, a recent study of the effects of the job market on college enrollments indicate that students in general will get higher test scores at higher income levels. "* * * The difference between college graduates and high school graduates in expected lifetime earnings 'consistently exerts a substantial influence on academic performance.' An increase of 1 percent in relative earnings of college graduates leads to an increase of 0.2 to 1.4 percent in test scores."

Given the current situation in higher education at all levels, and because of the income disparities between white and black families, black access to and distribution and persistence in college will be determined in a large part by financial aid to students and to institutions with policies aimed at increasing black participation. In addition to exanding Federal aid, the success of Federal support will depend in large part on the responsiveness of the institution to the educational and psychosocial needs of the minority student, particularly in the form of supportive services. In particular, the continuing support of the Federal Government is needed for the historically black colleges that remain an important resource to the black community.

The critical importance of black colleges and the threats to them require me to say a few more words especially in their defense. What I will say has implications for all sectors of education and society.

The case for black colleges and universities is based upon five major points or arguments. First, predominantly black colleges or universities provide creditable models for aspiring blacks to emulate. No group, particularly a disadvantaged or deprived group, can hope to move forward with any kind of success without having some visible models or examples of success. Otherwise, it will be resigned to hopeless despair and privatism.

Second, predominantly black colleges and universities provide psychosocially congenial settings in which blacks can develop. Although the adaptive capacity of human beings enable many to grow and flourish in a hostile environment, it is to be expected that larger numbers, more significant numbers, can develop in psychosocially congenial settings.

Third, predominantly black higher educational institutions provide transitional enclaves in which blacks may move from comparative isolation to mainstream without the demeaning competition or distraction of the majority white group.

Fourth, predominantly black colleges and universities provide an insurance against a potentially declining interest in the education

of black folks. If one looks at the vagaries of history, one will see there are ebbs and flows of interest in the education of blacks. Thus, it is important to mantain institutions closely identified with a mission of educating blacks according to the current or popular opinion.

Fifth, predominantly black colleges and institutions serve as economic and political resources for the communities in which they are located. As such resources, they not only provide great economic and political benefits to the black community, but certainly economically they may provide many benefits for the white community. And to the extent the white community does not regard an alert, informed black populace as not beneficial, they help the white community politically also.

Mr. Chairman, I must now close although I know I have not responded to all of the questions or issues you raised in your invitation for me to appear as a witness before your task force this morning. It is not my wont to refuse to answer any question if I have been given the appropriate forum to address it. However, lest I trespass upon the patience and courtesy of the committee, I am going to close within the time limit suggested to me by your staff.

I have not addressed all of the institutional or social factors which appear to contribute most to producing disparities between blacks and whites. Apart from race itself, the two next most important factors are financial well-being or income and social, political, and individual attitudes. There are at large in society, forces driving us to the right into retrenchment and regression.

One force would have us believe that Government and society can accomplish more by doing less. The major proponents of this position are those who will be hurt least because they have the most. Some of them are tired, jaded, and unnerved pundits, intellectuals, and in clover.

Another group of proponents, influenced by certain research reports and books, believe that there is no correlation between educational inputs, such as faculty, curriculum, and facilities, and educational outputs. The reports or research would have you believe that the victim of oppression is primarily responsible for his predicament through the forces or circumstances of his neighborhood, family, parents, or personal attitudes, or simply the unhappy object of unfathomable haphazard and intractable forces. For example, one of these researchers has maintained that you are not in the lower class because of your socioeconomic condition or absence of money, but because you have a bad attitude.

And still other proponents of retrenchment and regression take that position because of a revival of interest in the genetic thesis regarding the inheritability of individuals.

The major point I should like to make in response to these sometimes mean-spirited promulgations of pusillanimous policies of public pittances——

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you repeat that last line? It has a beautiful flow.

Dr. TOLLETT. The major point I should like to make in response to these sometimes mean-spirited promulgators of pusillanimous policies of public pittances is that public intervention can make a difference and that, although throwing money at a problem may

not be sufficient to solve it, more times than not it is unquestionably necessary. Thank you.

[The following material was submitted for the record:]

APPENDIX A

Abramowitz, Elizabeth A., ed. *Proceedings from the National Invitational Conference on Racial and Ethnic Data.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1976.

Cheek, James E. *Higher Education's Responsibility for Advancing Equality of Opportunity and Justice.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1977.

Fleming, John E. *The Lengthening Shadow of Slavery: A Historical Justification for Affirmative Action for Blacks in Higher Education.* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976.

Fleming, John E.; Gill, Gerald; and Swinton, David. *The Case for Affirmative Action for Blacks in Higher Education.* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1978.

Jones, Faustine C. *The Changing Mood in America: Eroding Commitment?* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1977.

Institute for the Study of Educational Policy. *Affirmative Action for Blacks in Higher Education: A Report.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1978.

———. *The Bakke Case Primer.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1978.

———. *Directory of National Sources of Data on Blacks in Higher Education.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1976.

———. *Equal Educational Opportunity: More Promise Than Progress.* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1978.

———. *Equal Educational Opportunity for Blacks in U.S. Higher Education: An Assessment.* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1978.

ISEP Briefs on Bakke. Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2. Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1977.

ISEP Monitor. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-6. Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1976, 1977.

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you. Your testimony was extremely provocative. We will hear from the next witness but there are three questions that I would like to direct to you; however I will spell them out now.

What, if any, evidence do you have to show that there is a steering of black young people into 2-year college programs rather than into the traditional 4-year college program? Are the high school counselors responsible for that kind of steering? I have heard reports to that effect and, as such, I would like to obtain additional information.

The second question is with regard to the black dropout rate. What concerns me is that from 1973 to the present the rate has been increasing rather than decreasing. Why is this taking place? What should be the role of Government to prevent this problem?

The third area of inquiry, again a major problem area, relates to the number of blacks who fail to complete the undergraduate college training program. Why does that happen? What should be the role of Government in attempting to prevent that from happening?

I will get back to you as quickly as I can, Dr. Tollett.

Dr. Edmonds.

STATEMENT OF DR. RONALD R. EDMONDS, SENIOR ASSISTANT TO THE CHANCELLOR FOR INSTRUCTION, NEW YOUK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Dr. EDMONDS. Before I begin, given the provocative remarks of my friend and colleague, Kenneth Tollett, I do want to recommend to both of you a book that a colleague and I just finished entitled, "Black Colleges in America". The reason I want to recommend it is because the book is intended for administrators of northern liberal arts schools that have liberalized admissions policies, that are running revolving door programs that have inordinate dropout rates for students who are poor or black.

The book is intended to extract from the black college experience the administrative style, the mood, the instructional strategy, the organizational characteristics of those black colleges that are most consistently successful in taking underprepared young people and bringing them in very short order to demonstrably competent levels of college level preparation.

The purpose of the book, in sum, is to allow the administrator of these 2-year schools and, more importantly, of these 4-year schools to profit from a very long and eminent tradition of successful schooling for the kinds of students that I think are of greatest interest to you. The book is "Black Colleges in America" by Charles Willie and Ronald Edmonds. It was recently published by Teachers College Press; by recently, I mean a couple of weeks ago.

Now as to my discussion, which is going to be rather more narrow in its focus than Dr. Tollett's because what I want to talk about is what I think I know about the characteristics of public schools, K-12, that are consistently successful in teaching basic skills to the students, black and poor, that I think are a principal focus of your inquiries.

Let me begin by saying something about the nature of what I do because I do find myself carrying on two very different sets of responsibilities.

For a long time I have been a faculty member at Harvard University. My principal responsibility is for a research project that identifies and analyzes the characteristics of city schools that are instructionally effective for poor children. Just a few weeks ago I was invited by New York City's new chancellor, Frank Macchiarola, to come to New York City to be responsible for instruction.

For a variety of reasons, what I decided to do is to divide my time between New York City and Harvard; first because the research at Harvard is not quite finished and it is not written up yet, at least for the most part it is not written up yet, and I want to finish it.

The second is because Frank Macchiarola made it very clear that he was inviting me to New York City to implement what I claimed to know about the characteristics of effective schools. Since the basis of my presence is the substance of the insight and knowledge that I acquire and the research that I do, I am not quite ready to say that it is in a finished state. So part of what that means is that for the most part I am in New York City as the senior assistant chancellor for instruction, and to a lesser extent I am still at Harvard University responsible for research into the characteristics of instructionally effective city schools.

For me the issue here is equity. This is not a social science issue. It is not a research issue. The fact that I go at this problem in the context of research is not because I think that is the most appropriate response. It is because I think research is the only viable response. It is the only response that allows me the status to carry on the discourse in the same realm and the same arena and in the same context as those of my colleagues to whom I take greatest exception. What I need to make clear at the outset in talking about these matters is that in my judgment the most fundamental problem in American schooling for poor children has to do with the nature of conventional American wisdom about the interaction between pupil achievement and family background.

It would be my own beginning remarks that the Congress of the United States, the National Institute of Education, in Harvard University, and most of our major intellectual and academic settings; that their discourse on these matters is in the most profound error in its analysis of the interaction between how well children do in school and the characteristics of the families from which they come.

I am sure that you know that in recent years the two most important studies of the interaction between pupil performance and family background are James Coleman's 1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity as commissioned by the Congress, and more recently Harvard University's Christopher Jencks' book, Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family Schooling in America.

There are of course a great many other scholars and academicians who imitate these inquiries. At least they imitate them in their summary conclusions but, more importantly, my own view is that these two pieces of work taken together describe in academic and intellectual terms what constitutes prevailing perspective in the general public in the United States about who does well in school and why. Therefore these two studies, and the general wisdom to which I refer, dictate public policy on these matters.

The problem with the national discourse is that since it is in fact in such profound error, what it produces over and over again are well-meaning but, in comparison to our needs, ineffectual public policy postures and responses. My own judgment is that until we face that issue rather more squarely than we have so far, we are not likely to see much more progress than we are getting. And in fact, as you have already indicated, Mr. Chairman, what we may well see is a loss of those modest kinds of gains that we have made.

So I have to begin by stating quite unequivocally that I take the most dramatic exception to the discussion and analysis of achievement and its interaction with family background, particularly as discussed by James Coleman and particularly as discussed by Christopher Jencks and his colleagues. By that I do not mean to suggest that there is the least ill will in the work that these men and their colleagues do, but I do mean to suggest that they do us all a disservice because in my view they mislead us because they offer us a very distorted portrait of the reality of efforts in the United States to deliver social service.

Now having begun in that summary way, what I want to turn to is what I am prepared to offer in the way of evidence in support of my alternative perspectives on these matters. The easiest way for

me to state that is to say that when the discussion is focusing on primary pupil acquisition of basic school skills, it is not in fact family background that is the principal determinant of achievement, it is school response to family background that is the principal determinant of achievement.

The policy import of those two differences is rather dramatic. In the first instance, if family background is the principal determinant of achievement, then the only route to reform is to intervene in the life of these children. As you know, we have at least paid substantial lip service to doing that. We do not do it well or systematically, but nonetheless, on the basis of that kind of analysis, that is the kind of public strategy that we try at least in an overall way. In my view it does not work as well as it might because it is not grounded in a proper understanding of the origin of achievement for young children when we are talking about the school skills they need for continued success.

On the other hand, if, as I contend, fundamental pupil achievement derives from school response to family background, then the public policy intervention that is dictated by that analysis is that you intervene in the life of the school. The principal evidence I want to offer in support of that is to talk about those instances in matters of fact in the United States that say that there are schools now, there have been, and I assure you there will be, schools that consistently teach basic skills to all of the children that come to those schools, including most especially children who are poor, of color, or both. And I would suggest that that is probably the most basic criterion for assessing school reform that can be used, at least it is the one that informs my work.

Turning to the question of evidence, there are a number of areas of inquiry that I want to set aside because I do not pursue them, not because I do not think they are important, but because I do not believe that they are principal determinants of the levels of achievement that we are interested in here.

First, if you are talking about class size, unless extreme change in class size is under discussion, that is less than 15 pupils or more than 35, then you need not pay any attention to class size at all. It is not that class size is not important, it is just that in and of itself class size is not a principal determinant of the levels of achievement for the children that we are talking about.

Second, if you are talking about the kind of fundamental school reform that we are interested in, then you could be equally indifferent to school size, teacher experience, teachers' race, teachers' salaries, per pupil expenditure, and school facilities. I do not reject these as lines of inquiry because I do not think they are important; I think they are all important, they are all important for a great many reasons that are educationally significant.

The point I am trying to make is that they are not profound and principal determinants of improved achievement in basic school skills for the children that I think are the object of this discussion.

What I have saved for the last area of school condition to be set aside is desegregation, and I have saved it for last because I recognize that it is a very complex matter; it is in some instances a volatile matter and I think it deserves more than the casual discussion I just made with respect to these other issues. I support court-

ordered desegregation, enthusiastically, because I believe in desegregation and I believe even more strongly in integration, and I am of course passionately opposed to segregation and discrimination in all its forms.

What I do have to point out, though, is that when the discussion is focused on achievement and instructional reform, then desegregation is not in and of itself an instrument of school reform. It is an opportunity for school reform. It is, unfortunately, a tactical error that so many of my colleagues turn their energies exclusively to trying to intrude on the demography of school composition, when their fundamental interest is in improved achievement for the children whose discrimination is the beginning of the attention to desegregation in the first place.

What I am going to suggest about desegregation is that the way to look at our more than 20 years of experience, and the way to look at our very voluminous literature on the subject, is to look at it as an analysis of desegregation as a tactical instrument of fundamental school reform and not to say that you do not care about the other matters, but to make clear that what you get out of desegregation in the context of education depends on the objective with which you approach the issue.

Many of my colleagues, rightly, define desegregation suits as race issues, as race cases, and as matters to be examined in racial terms. In many instances I subscribe to that. The problem with it is that when, as in many cases, black parents are interested in desegregation first and foremost as an instrument of instructional reform, then focusing exclusively on the demography of desegregation turns out not to be a very effective thing to do.

That does not mean that you ought not to desegregate. Quite the contrary. What it does mean is that you have to be far more self-conscious than we have been so far about how you choose to exploit the opportunity for institutional change and community change that desegregation represents. It is in that context that I want to commend the body of literature that I think now gives us a very firm grasp on the instructional uses to which desegregation can be put.

Let me turn now to school studies that are most explicit in identifying and advocating particular school changes when our interest is in reform. Weber is the first contributor to this literature that I want to mention.

Obviously the Coleman work came before Weber, but I put Coleman on one side of the question and Weber on the other.

Weber focused on characteristics of four inner-city schools in which reading achievement was clearly successful for poor children on the basis of national norms. What Weber undertook to do was to examine those schools in great detail to see if he could extract the institutional behaviors and characteristics that distinguish those four schools from several score others that were consistently less effective in raising reading scores for poor children.

Most importantly for our purposes, Weber concludes his work with a summary observation that says that these four schools have an orderly, relatively quiet, and pleasant atmosphere, that they strongly emphasize pupil acquisition of reading skills, and that

they reinforce that emphasis by careful and frequent evaluation of pupil progress.

The next recommendation I want to make is a 1974 study undertaken by the New York State Office of Education Performance Review. That study, most importantly for our purposes, confirmed Weber's most important findings. The State of New York effort focused on a study of two inner-city New York City public schools, both of which were serving analogous predominantly poor pupil populations, one of the schools clearly being high achieving and the other being clearly low achieving. What the New York City study went after were the characteristics that distinguished the two schools and accounted for the success of the one and the instructional failure of the other.

I will not go over the findings; they can be read at one's leisure. Suffice it to say that the findings do emphasize Weber's most important and summary conclusions.

My next recommendation has to do with Madden and his colleagues in California. I want to emphasize the Madden work, first, because the number of schools involved are much larger; there were 21 matched sets of schools. The design is rather more rigorous than Weber and New York was, but again, most importantly for our purposes, what the California study does is emphasize that in most important respects schools are in fact in control of those institutional behaviors and characteristics that turn out to be the principal determinants of achievement.

Since there is again a high overlap between the California findings and the New York findings and the Weber findings, I will very briefly run through those and then I will not have to do it again. The findings I am going to briefly touch on are 10.

One: In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools report that the principals provide them with a significantly greater amount of support.

Two: Teachers in higher achieving schools were more task-oriented in their classroom approach and exhibited more evidence of applying appropriate principles of learning than did teachers in lower achieving schools.

Three: In comparison to classrooms in lower achieving schools, classrooms in higher achieving schools provided more evidence of student monitoring processes, student effort, happier children, and atmosphere conducive to learning.

Four: In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools reported that they spent relatively more time on social studies, less time on mathematics and physical education/health, and about the same amount of time on reading/language development and science.

Five: In contrast to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools report: (a) a larger number of adult volunteers in mathematics classes; (*b*) fewer paid aides in reading; and (*c*) they are more apt to use teacher aides for nonteaching tasks, such as classroom paperwork, watching children on the playground, and maintaining classroom discipline.

Six: In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools reported higher levels of access to "outside the classroom" materials.

Seven: In comparison to the teachers of lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools believed their faculty as a whole had less influence on educational decisions, meaning the administration had greater influence on educational decisions.

Eight: In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools rated district administration higher on support services.

Nine: In comparison to grouping practices at lower achieving schools, the higher achieving schools divided classrooms into fewer groups for purposes of instruction. In this one, what I would say with respect to all of the studies is that the clear import is that when we are talking about improving achievement for poor children, heterogeneous grouping is highly to be desired as compared to homogeneous grouping.

Ten: In comparison to teachers in lower achieving schools, teachers in higher achieving schools reported being more satisfied with various aspects of their work.

My own conclusion is that the California study deserves very careful attention since it is in my judgment a very valuable discussion of school characteristics that can be manipulated when the object is school reform. Even beyond the ones I have already mentioned, I want to especially commend a body of work that is ongoing at Michigan State University under the auspices of W. B. Brookover and L. W. Lezotte. Together they published at least three studies of the characteristics of instructionally effective schools as compared to instructionally ineffective schools.

I want to emphasize the findings of their third study because the third study to which I am going to refer now profits from the earlier two studies that they did.

There is great overlap between the Weber, New York, and California work, and if I were to read through the supplementary conclusions from the Brookover and Lezotte work, you would be struck with the extent to which each reinforces the other.

I want now to turn very briefly to some summary remarks of my own work.

My principal colleague in these efforts is John Fredrickson. John Fredrickson and I have been engaged in these inquiries since the early 1970's. The summary purposes of our work have been, first, to identify schools that are consistently effective in teaching all pupils, most specially those who are poor and of color; and, second, to analyze the characteristics distinguishing the schools we define as effective, from those we define as ineffective.

In all the time that we have been at this and in all the scores of schools where we have carried on these analyses, we have never yet encountered a school which is instructionally effective for poor children without being more effective for white, middle-class children.

When you are advocating school reform for poor or black children, you are advocating even greater school reform for those children who are white or middle class. Whether in financial terms or otherwise, it seems to me, there should be some value in being able to make that evaluation.

A very great proportion of the American people believe that family background and home environment are principal causes of

the quality of pupil performance. In fact, no notion about schooling is more widely held than the belief that the family is somehow a principal determinant of whether or not a child will do well in school. The popularity of that belief continues partly because many social scientists and opinionmakers continue to espouse the belief that family background is a chief cause of the quality of pupil performance. Such a belief has the effect of absolving educators of their professional responsibility to be instructionally effective for all children.

While recognizing the importance of family background in developing a child's character, personality, and intelligence, I cannot overemphasize my rejection of the notion that a school is relieved of its instructional obligations when teaching the children of the poor. I reject such a notion partly because I recognize the existence of schools that successfully teach basic school skills to all children. Such success occurs partly because these schools are determined to serve all their pupils without regard to family background. At the same time, these schools recognize the necessity of modifying curricular design, text selection, teaching strategy, et cetera, in response to differences in family background among pupils in the school.

Our findings strongly recommend that all schools be held responsible for effectively teaching basic school skills to all children. We recommend future studies of school and teacher effectiveness consider the stratification design as a means for investigating the separate relationship of programs and policies for pupils of differing family and social background. Information about individual student family background and social class is essential in our analysis if we are to disentangle the separate effects of pupil background and school social class makeup on pupil achievement. Moreover, studies of school effectiveness should be multivariate in character and employ longitudinal records of pupil achievement in a variety of areas of school learning.

We have identified five Lansing schools in which basic achievement seems relatively independent of pupil social class. The achievement data are: Local and normative; and state and criterion. We use both sets of data to identify schools in which all pupils are achieving beyond minimum objectives, including most especially those children of low social class and poverty family background. We are now gathering similar data for Detroit pupils in the elementary grades in schools whose pupil population is at least 15 percent poor.

What I want to end with here are some summary remarks about school characteristics which, when implemented, consistently result in the kind of improvement and achievement for poor children and for black children that are the object of this discussion.

Some schools are instructionally effective for the poor because they have a tyrannical principal who compels the teachers to bring all children to a minimum level of mastery of basic skills. I am not recommending that as a model, but there are schools which are effective for that reason. As you may well know, that is a very volatile and fragile way to reform a school, but nonetheless, that is what happens from time to time. Some schools are effective because they have a self-generating teacher corps that has a critical

mass of dedicated people who are committed to be effective for all the children they teach. Some schools are effective because they have a highly politicized parent-teacher organization that holds the schools to close instructional account.

The point here is to make clear at the outset that no one model explains school effectiveness for the poor or any other social class. Fortunately, children know how to learn in more ways than we know how to teach, thus permitting great latitude in choosing instructional strategy. The great problem in schooling is that we know how to teach in ways that can keep some children from learning most anything, and we often choose to thus proceed when dealing with the children of the poor.

Thus, one of the cardinal characteristics of effective schools is that they are as anxious to avoid things that do not work as they are committed to implementing things that do. The other thing that means, of course, is that effective schools are highly volatile organizational settings.

What it means is that in any given year, what you did in the school in order to be effective for all your children may not be appropriate in the very next year. What that means then is that the school has to be prepared to respond to all the nuances and subtleties which describe the differences between and among children. It means in such a context, that the first, foremost, and principal purpose of the school has to be to deliver basic skills to all the children who are there, and no other measure of school effectiveness or behavior will do.

What I want to do then is to close by stating as unequivocally as I can what tends to be the characterization of effective schools. They have strong administrative leadership without which the disparate elements of good schooling can be neither brought together nor kept together. Schools that are instructionally effective for poor children have a climate of expectation in which no children are permitted to fall below minimum but efficacious levels of achievement. The school's atmosphere is orderly without being rigid, quiet without being oppressive, and generally conducive to the instructional business at hand. Effective schools get that way partly by making it clear that pupil acquisition of basic school skills takes precedence over all other school activities. When necessary, school energy and resources can be diverted from other business in furtherance of the fundamental objectives. The final effective school characteristic to be set down is that there must be some means by which pupil progress can be frequently monitored. These means may be as traditional as classroom testing on the day's lesson, or as advanced as criterion-referenced systemwide standardized measures. The point is that some means must exist in the school by which the principal and the teachers remain constantly aware of pupil progress in relationship to instructional objectives.

Two final points. First, how many effective schools would you have to see to be persuaded of the educability of poor children? If your answer is more than one, then I submit that you have reasons of your own for preferring to believe that basic school performance derives from family background instead of school response to family background. Second, whether or not we will ever effectively

35-115 O - 76 - 2

teach the children of the poor is probably far more a matter of politics than of social science, and that is as it should be.

It seems to me, therefore, that what is left are three declarative statements: We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need to, to do what I have just said. Whether or not we will ever do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we haven't so far.

[Testimony resumes on p 25.]

[The prepared statement of Dr. Edmonds follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. RONALD R. EDMONDS

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you for the opportunity to discuss with you what I know of the characteristics of city schools that are instructionally effective for all children. Before I begin, it may help if I say a few words about my work in these matters expecially since I now find myself with two very different jobs in education.

Since 1972, I have been at Harvard University and am now a lecturer and research associate in education. More importantly, for your purposes, I am director of a Harvard research project which, since 1973, has worked on the state of the art of identifying and analyzing city schools that are instructionally effective for poor children. It is that research work that will be the substantive basis of my discussion.

Since mid-August of this year, I have additionally been senior assistant to the chancellor for instruction in the New York City Public Schools. I have been invited to New York to implement what I know of instructionally effective city schools and now divide my time between my New York duties and my continuing research at Harvard.

Equity will be the focus of my discussion. I mean by equity a simple sense of fairness in the distribution of the primary goods and services that characterize our social order. Some of us, rightly, have more goods and services than others and my sense of equity is not disturbed by that fact. Others of us have almost no goods and access to only the most wretched services and that deeply offends my simple sense of fairness and hence violates the standard of equity by which I judge our social order. I measure our progress as a social order by our willingness to advance the equity interests of the least among us. Thus, increased wealth or education for the top of our social order is quite beside the point of my basis for assessing our progress toward greater equity. Progress requires public policy that begins by making the poor less poor and ends by making them not poor at all. This discussion of education will apply just such a standard to public schooling. Equitable public schooling begins by teaching poor children what their parents want them to know and ends by teaching poor children at least as well as it teaches middle-class children. Inequity in American education derives first and foremost from our failure to educate the children of the poor. Education in this context refers to primary pupil acquisition of those basic school skills which assure successful pupil access to the next level of schooling.

Thus, for the whole of this discussion, a school will be described as effective if, and only if, it has a demonstrated ability to be instructionally effective for all children no matter their family income or social class. I should make clear at the outset that my work in education focuses on improved instruction for children who are poor. In cities such children are often of color but color is not the principal focus of my inquiries and analyses.

My subsequent discussion of certain of the literature on school effects must not be taken to mean that whether or not schools are effective derives from matters of research or social science. Such is not the case. Schools teach those they think they must and when they think they needn't, they don't. That fact has nothing to do with social science except that the children of social scientists are among those that schools feel compelled to effectively teach. There has never been a time in the life of the American public school when we have not known all that we needed to teach all those that we chose to teach. The discussion of research literature that follows may illuminate that fact but it cannot change it.

In recent years, the most widely disseminated and influential studies of school effects have been James Coleman et al. *Equality of Educational Opportunity*[1] and Christopher Jencks et al. *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family And Schooling in America*.[2] Both books conclude, in sum, that pupil performance is principally caused by family background with the attendant implication that little can be done to increase achievement for poor children. Both studies are profoundly in error in their discussion of the interaction between pupil performance and family background. Most importantly, for our purposes, Coleman and Jencks are mistaken in their conclusion that family background causes pupil performance. School response to family background is in fact the principal determinant of pupil performance and the discussion that follows is intended to substantiate that fact.

I want to begin with summary remarks on the literature that discusses the interaction between pupil performance and particular characteristics of the school.

There is ample evidence to justify ignoring a number of school characteristics when our object is instructional reform. First, unless extreme change (less than 15 pupils, more than 35) is being considered, class size, in and of itself, is not a critical variable in determining pupil performance.[3] Class size must of course be considered in any overall instructional strategy but the point is that no appreciable gain in pupil acquisition of basic school skills can be got solely on the basis of a reduction in class size. Let me make clear that for most instructional purposes I prefer small classes to large classes. I recommend small classes for reasons of classroom amiability, ease of management, improved teacher morale and a variety of other important educational interests. Small class size cannot however be recommended on the basis of a research literature that predicts greater pupil achievement as a consequence of reduced class size. Similar remarks can be made about school size, teacher experience, teacher's race, teacher's salaries, per pupil expenditure and school facilities.[4] All of these school characteristics are important in a variety of ways for a variety of reasons, but no one of them can be successfully manipulated when the object is greater pupil acquisition of basic school skills.

In this quick summary of the research on school characteristics not directly and singly related to pupil performance, I have saved racial composition of the building for last on the grounds that this volatile and important issue deserves more than hasty discussion.

Court ordered desegregation is the greatest weapon in the black arsenal of civic power. Since 1954 several score American cities have been profoundly altered as a consequence of black initiated court ordered desegregation of the local school district.[5] The history of these class action suits is that they occur as a tactical last resort by a black community that has tried for many years by various means to improve teaching and learning for black children.[6] In fact, school desegregation can best be understood when evaluated principally as an instrument of instructional reform.[7] The literature on desegregation is not, for the most part, organized this way but to be most useful to educational decisionmakers should be used this way. Taken as a whole, the research literature says that in and of itself desegregation has little effect on pupil performance.[8] Desegregation is however a unique opportunity to effect educational changes that could not otherwise occur. What must therefore be carefully thought through are those educational changes that will yield the greatest instructional gain for that portion of the pupil population in which we have the greatest interest; those who profit least from existing arrangements. Thus, when and if desegregation comes bringing with it a unique opportunity for institutional change, we will be well prepared to seize the occasion on behalf of a set of reforms that represent the most auspicious use of the circumstances. When plan-

---

[1] Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. O., Hobson, C. J., McPartland, J., Mood, A. M., Weinfeld, F. D., and York, R. L. "Equality of Educational Opportunity." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, 1966.

[2] Jencks, C. et al. "Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America." Basic Books, 1972.

[3] "What The Research Studies Show." The N.Y. Times, Sunday, November 13, 1977.

[4] Weber, G. "Inner City Children Can Be Taught to Read", p. 30, Averch, H. A., Carroll, S. J., Donaldson, T. S., Kiesling, H. J., and Pincus J. "How effective is schooling? A critical review and synthesis of research findings," pp. 154-158. Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation, 1972.

[5] Bolner, J. and Shanley, R. "Busing: The Political and Judicial Process." Praeger, 1974.

[6] Edmonds, R.; Cheng, C.; Newby, R. "Desegregation Planning and Educational Equity: Prospects and Possibilities." In Press. Theory Into Practice. V. XVII, No. 1, February 1978.

Edmonds, R. "Simple Justice in the Cradle of Liberty: Desegregating the Boston Public Schools." In Press. Vanderbilt Law Review.

Teele, J. "Evaluating School Busing." Praeger, 1973.

[7] Edmonds, R. "Desegregation and Equity: Community Perspectives." Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin. 19, No. 2, Winter, 1974-75.

[8] St. John, Nancy H. "School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children." Wiley, 1975.

ning the actual desegregation, we need to know whether to advocate racial balance, educational parks, a Princeton plan or some other variation explicitly intended to effect the greatest educational gain.

We come now to those school studies that are most explicit in identifying and advocating particular changes. What follows is a discussion of certain aspects of school organization, instructional strategy and school community dynamic that seem most directly relevant to achievement gains for poor children. Weber was an early contributor to the literature on the school determinants of achievement in his 1971 study of four instructionally effective inner city schools.[9] Weber intended his study to be explicitly alternative to Coleman, Jensen,[10] and other researchers who had satisfied themselves that low achievement by poor children derived principally from inherent disabilities that characterized the poor. Weber focused on the characteristics of four inner-city schools in which reading achievement was clearly successful for poor children on the basis of national norms. All four schools have "strong leadership" in that their principal is instrumental in: setting the tone of the school; helping decide on instructional strategies; and organizing and distributing the school's resources. All four schools have "high expectations" for all their students. Weber is careful to point out that high expectations are not sufficient for school success but they are certainly necessary. All four schools have an orderly, relatively quiet, and pleasant atmosphere. All four schools strongly emphasize pupil acquisition of reading skills and reinforce that emphasis by careful and frequent evaluation of pupil progress.

In 1974, the New York State Office of Education Performance Review published a study [11] that confirmed certain of Weber's major findings. New York identified two inner-city New York City public schools, both of which were serving an analogous, predominantly poor pupil population. One of the schools was high-achieving and the other was low-achieving. Both schools were studied in an attempt to identify those differences that seemed most responsible for the achievement variation between the two schools. The following findings were reported.

"This study showed that:

"The differences in student performance in these two schools seemed to be attributed to factors under the schools' control;

"Administrative behavior, policies and practices in the schools appeared to have a significant impact on school effectiveness;

"The more effective inner city school was led by an administrative team which provided a good balance between both management and instructional skills;

"The administrative team in the more effective school had developed a plan for dealing with the reading problem and had implemented the plan throughout the school;

"Classroom reading instruction did not appear to differ between the two schools since classroom teachers in both schools had problems in teaching reading and assessing pupils' reading skills;

"Many professional personnel in the less effective school attributed children's reading problems to non-school factors and were pessimistic about their ability to have an impact, creating an environment in which children failed because they were not expected to succeed. However, in the more effective school, teachers were less skeptical about their ability to have an impact on children;

"Children responded to unstimulating learning experiences predictably—they were apathetic, disruptive or absent.

"Admittedly this study has not identified all factors relating to student reading achievement. However, these preliminary findings are consistent with a significant body of other research. While more research should be encouraged, it is even more important that we begin to apply what is already known. This study has shown that school practices have an effect on reading achievement. At the very least, the children in low achieving schools should have the opportunities available to the children of the high achieving schools. These opportunities, which do not result from higher overall expenditures, are clearly within the reach of any school today." [12]

For our purposes these findings reinforce the relevance of leadership, expectations, and atmosphere as essential institutional elements affecting pupil performance. If further evidentiary support for these findings is wanted, you are invited to close scrutiny of the 1976 Madden, Lawson, Sweet study of school effectiveness in

---

[9] Op. Cit. Weber, G. "Inner City Children Can Be Taught to Read."

[10] Jensen, A. "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Educational Review, Winter, 1969.

[11] Op. Cit. State of New York. "School Factors Influencing Reading Achievement."

[12] Ibid., pp. vi and vii.

California.[15] In a more rigorous and sophisticated version of the Weber and New York studies, Madden and his colleagues studied 21 pairs of California elementary schools matched on the basis of pupil characteristics and differing only on the basis of pupil performance on standardized achievement measures. The 21 pairs of schools were studied in an effort to identify those institutional characteristics that seemed most responsible for the achievement differences that described the 21 high-achieving schools and the 21 low-achieving schools. The major findings are ten.

"1. In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools report that their principals provide them with a significantly greater amount of support.

"2. Teachers in higher achieving schools were more task-oriented in their classroom approach and exhibited more evidence of applying appropriate principles of learning than did teachers in lower achieving schools.

"3. In comparison to classrooms in lower achieving schools, classrooms in higher achieving schools provided more evidence of student monitoring processes, student effort, happier children, and atmosphere conducive to learning.

"4. In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at high achieving schools reported that they spent relatively more time on social studies, less time on mathematics and physical education/health, and about the same amount of time on reading/language development and science.

"5. In contrast to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools report: a. A large number of adult volunteers in mathematics classes; b. Fewer paid aides in reading; and c. They are more apt to use teacher aides for nonteaching tasks, such as classroom paperwork, watching children on the playground, and maintaining classroom discipline.

"6. In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools reported higher levels of access to 'outside the classroom' materials.

"7. In comparison to the teachers of lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools believed their faculty as a whole had less influence on educational decisions.

"8. In comparison to teachers at lower achieving schools, teachers at higher achieving schools rated district administration higher on support services.

"9. In comparison to grouping practices at lower achieving schools, the higher achieving schools divided classrooms into fewer groups for purposes of instruction.

"10. In comparison to teachers in lower achieving schools, teachers in higher achieving schools reported being more satisfied with various aspects of their work." [16]

My own conclusion is that aside from intrinsic merit the California study is chiefly notable for its reinforcement of leadership, expectations, atmosphere, and instructional emphasis as consistently essential institutional determinants of pupil performance.

I want to close this part of the discussion with summary remarks about a recent and unusually persuasive study of school effects. In 1977 W. B. Brookover and L. W. Lezotte published their study of "Changes in School Characteristics Coincident With Changes in Student Achievement." [18] We should take special note of this work partly because it is a formal extension of inquiries and analyses begun in two earlier studies both of which reinforce certain of the Weber, Madden, et al., and New York findings. The Michigan Department of Education "Cost Effectiveness Study" [16] and the Brookover et al study of "Elementary School Climate and School Achievement" [17] are both focused on those educational variables that are liable to school control and important to the quality of pupil performance. In response to both of these studies the Michigan Department of Education asked Brookover and Lezotte to study a set of Michigan schools characterized by consistent pupil performance improvement or decline. The Brookover, Lezotte study is broader in scope than the two earlier studies and explicitly intended to profit from methodological and analytical lessons learned in the "Cost Effectiveness . . ." and "Elementary School Climate . . ." studies.

---

[15] Madden, J. V.; Lawson, D. R.; Sweet, D. "School Effectiveness Study: State of California"—1976.

[16] Ibid.

[18] Brookover, W. B., Lezotte, L. W. "Changes In School Characteristics Coincident With Changes In Student Achievement." College of Urban Development of Michigan State University and the The Michigan Department of Education, 1977.

[16] Research Evaluation and Assessment Services of the Michigan Department of Education. "Report of the 1974-75 Michigan Cost Effectiveness Study." Capital Publications, 1976.

[17] Brookover, W. et al. "Elementary School Climate and School Achievement." College of Urban Development of Michigan State University, 1976.

Since the early 1970's the Michigan Department of Education has annually tested all Michigan pupils in public schools in grades four and seven. The tests are criterion referenced standardized measures of pupil perfomance in basic school skills. Over time these data were used by the Michigan Department of Education to identify elementary schools characterized by consistent pupil performance improvement or decline. Brookover and Lezotte chose eight of those schools to be studied (six improving, two declining). The schools were visited by trained interviewers who conducted interviews and administered questionnaires to a great many of the school personnel. The interviews and questionnaires were designed to identify differences between the improving and declining schools, which differences seemed most important to the pupil performance variation between the two sets of schools. The summary results follow.

"1. The improving schools are clearly different from the declining schools in the emphasis their staff places on the accomplishment of the basic reading and mathematics objectives. The improving schools accept and emphasize the importance of these goals and objectives while declining schools give much less emphasis to such goals and do not specify them as fundamental.

"2. There is a clear contrast in the evaluations that teachers and principals make of the students in the improving and declining schools. The staffs of the improving schools tend to believe that *all* of their students can master the basic objectives; and furthermore, the teachers perceive that the prinicpal shares this belief. They tend to report higher and increasing levels of student ability, while the declining school teachers project the belief that students' ability levels are low and, therefore, they cannot matter even these objectives.

"3. The staff of the improving schools hold decidedly higher and apparently increasing levels of expectations with regard to the educational accomplishments of their students. In contrast, staff of the declining schools are much less likely to believe that their students will complete high school or college.

"4. In contrast to the declining schools, the teachers and principals of the improving schools are much more likely to assume responsibility for teaching the basic reading and math skills and are much more committed to doing so. The staffs of the declining schools feel there is not much that teachers can do to influence the achievement of their students. They tend to displace the responsibility for skill learning on the parents or the students themselves.

"5. Since the teachers in the declining schools believe that there is little they can do to influence basic skill learning, it follows they spend less time in direct reading instruction than do teachers in the improving schools. With the greater emphasis on reading and math objectives in the improving schools, the staffs in these schools devote a much greater amount of time toward achieving, reading, and math objectives.

"6. There seems to be a clear difference in the principal's role in the improving and declining schools. In the improving schools, the principal is more likely to be an instructional leader, be more assertive in his instructional leadership role, is more of disciplinarian and perhaps most of all, assumes responsibility for the evaluation of the achievement of basic objectives. The principals in the declining schools appear to be permissive and to emphasize informal and collegial relationships with the teachers. They put more emphasis on general public relations and less emphasis upon evaluation of the school's effectiveness in providing a basic education for the students.

"7. The improving school staffs appear to evidence a greater degree of acceptance of the concept of accountability and are further along in the development of an accountability model. Certainly they accept the MEAP tests as one indication of their effectiveness to a much greater degree than the declining school staffs. The latter tend to reject the relevance of the MEAP tests and make little use of these assessment devices as a reflection of their instruction. (MEAP refers to Michigan Educational Assessment Program.)

"8. Generally, teachers in the improving schools are less satisfied than the staffs in the declining schools. The higher levels of reported staff satisfaction and morale in the declining schools seem to reflect a pattern of complacency and satisfaction with the current levels or educational attainment. On the other hand, the improving school staffs appear more likely to experience some tension and dissatisfaction with the existing condition.

"9. Differences in the level of parent imvolvement in the improving and declining schools are not clear cut. It seems that there is less overall parent involvement in the improving schools; however, the improving school staffs indicated that their schools have higher levels of *parent initiated* involvement. This suggests that we need to look more closely at the nature of the involvement exercised by parents.

Perhaps parent initiated contact with the schools represents an effective instrument of educational change.

"10. The compensatory education program data suggests differences between improving and declining schools, but these differences may be distorted by the fact that one of the declining schools had just initiated a compensatory education program. In general, the improving schools are not characterized by a high emphasis upon paraprofessional staff, nor heavy involvement of the regular teachers in the selection of students to be placed in compensatory education programs. The declining schools seem to have a greater number of different staff involved in reading instruction and more teacher involvement in identifying students who are to be placed in compensatory education programs. The regular classroom teachers in the declining schools report spending more time planning for noncompensatory education reading activities. The decliners also report greater emphasis on programmed instruction." [18]

Before making summary remarks about the policy import of these several studies, I want to say something of my own research, "Search for Effective Schools: The Identification and Analysis of City Schools That Are Instructionally Effective for Poor Children." [19] This discussion will describe our ongoing effects to identify and analyze city schools that are instructionally effective for poor and/or minority children. I am pleased to note that we have already developed unusually persuasive evidence of the thesis we seek to demonstrate in the research under discussion. Our thesis is that all children are eminently educable, and the behavior of the school is critical in determining the quality of that education.

The "Search for Effective Schools" project began by answering the question: "Are there schools that are instructionally effective for poor children?" In September of 1974, Lezotte, Edmonds, and Ratner described their analysis of pupil performance in the twenty elementary schools that make up Detroit's Model Cities Neighborhood.[20] All of the schools are located in inner-city Detroit and serve a predominantly poor and minority pupil population. Reading and math scores were analyzed from Detroit's spring 1973 use of the Stanford Achievement Test and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. Of the 10,000 pupils in the 20 schools in the Model Cities' Neighborhood, 2,500 were randomly sampled. With minor variation, the sample included eight pupils per classroom in each of the 20 schools. The mean math and reading scores for the 20 schools were compared with citywide norms. An effective school among the 20 was defined as being at or above the city average grade equivalent in math and reading. An ineffective school was defined as below the city average. Using these criteria, 8 of the 20 schools were judged effective in teaching math. Nine were judged effective in teaching reading and five were judged effective in teaching both math and reading.

We turned next to the problem of establishing the relationship between pupil family background and building effectiveness. Two schools among the twenty, Duffield and Bunche, were found that were matched on the basis of eleven social indicators. Duffield pupils averaged nearly 4 months above the city average in reading and math. Bunche pupils averaged nearly 3 months below the city reading average and 1.5 months below the city math average.

The similarity in the characteristics of the two pupil populations permits us to infer the importance of school behavior in making pupil performance independent of family background. The overriding point here is that, in and of itself, pupil family background neither causes nor precludes elementary school instructional effectiveness.

Despite the value of our early work in Detroit, we recognized the limitation of the Model Cities' Neighborhood analysis. Our evaluation of school success with poor children had depended on evaluating schools with relatively homogeneous pupil populations. The numbers of schools were too few to justify firm conclusions. Finally, the achievement tests were normative, as was the basis for determining building effectiveness among the 20 schools. Even so, valuable lessons were learned in Detroit from which we would later greatly profit.

The second phase of the project was a reanalysis of the 1966 Equal Educational Opportunity Survey (EEOS) data.[21] Our purpose was to answer a number of re-

---

[18] Op Cit. Brookover and Lezotte. "Changes in School Characteristics . . ."

[19] Edmonds, R. R., and Fredericksen, J. R. "Search for Effective Schools: The Identification and Analysis of City Schools That Are Instructionally Effective for Poor Children." Center for Urban Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1978.

[20] Lezotte, Larry; Edmonds, Ronald; and Ratner, Gershon. "Remedy for School Failure to Equitably Deliver Basic School Skills." Center for Urban Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1974

[21] Frederiksen, John. "School Effectiveness and Equality of Educational Opportunity." Center for Urban Studies, Harvard University, 1975.

search questions that required a data base both larger and richer than had been available to us in the Model Cities' Neighborhood analysis. We retained our interest in identifying instructionally effective schools for the poor, but in addition we wanted to study the effects of schools on children having different social backgrounds. Such an inquiry would permit us to evaluate school contributions to educational outcomes independent of our ability to match schools on the basis of the socioeconomic characteristics of their pupils.

Summarizing and oversimplifying results, we found at least 55 effective schools in the Northeast quadrant of the EEOS. Our summary definition of school effectiveness required that each school eliminate the relationship between successful performance and family background. The effective schools varied widely in racial composition, per pupil expenditure, and other presumed determinants of school quality.

In our re-analysis of the EEOS, separate evaluations of the schools were made for subgroups of pupils of different races and home background. Schools were found to be consistently effective (or ineffective) in teaching subgroups of their populations that were homogeneous in race and ecomomic condition. These schools were not found to be consistently effective in teaching children of differing economic condition and race. School effectiveness for a given level on Coleman's home items scale extended across racial lines. The prime factors which condition a school's instructional effectiveness appear to be principally economic and social, rather than racial.

Without seeking to match effective and ineffective schools on mean social background variables, we found that the schools that were instructionally effective for poor and black children were indistinguishable from the instructionally less effective schools on measures of pupil social background (mean father's and mother's education, category of occupation, percentage of white students, mean family size, and percentage of intact families). The large differences in performance between the effective and ineffective schools could not therefore be attributed to differences in the social class and family background of pupils enrolled in the schools. This finding is in striking contrast to that of other analysts of the EEOS, who have generally concluded that variability in performance levels from school to school is only minimally related to institutional characteristics.

A very great proportion of the American people believe that family background and home environment are principal causes of the quality of pupil performance. In fact, no notion about schooling is more widely held than the belief that the family is somehow a principal determinant of whether or not a child will do well in school. The popularity of that belief continues partly because many social scientists and opinionmakers continue to espouse the belief that family background is a chief cause of the quality of pupil performance. Such a belief has the effect of absolving educators of their professional responsibility to be instructionally effective.

While recognizing the importance of family background in developing a child's character, personality, and intelligence, I cannot overemphasize my rejection of the notion that a school is relieved of its instructional obligations when teaching the children of the poor. I reject such a notion partly because I recognize the existence of schools that successfully teach basic school skills to all children. Such success occurs partly because these schools are determined to serve all their pupils without regard to family background. At the same time, these schools recognize the necessity of modifying curricular design, text selection, teaching strategy, etc., in response to differences in family background among pupils in the school. Our findings strongly recommend that all schools be held responsible for effectively teaching basic school skills to all children. We recommend future studies of school and teacher effectiveness consider the stratification design as a means for investigating the separate relationship of programs and policies for pupils of differing family and social background. Information about individual student family background and social class is essential in our analysis if we are to disentangle the separate effects of pupil background and school social class makeup on pupil achievement. Moreover, studies of school effectiveness should be multivariate in character and employ longitudinal records of pupil achievement in a variety of areas of school learning.

The "Search for Effective Schools Project" is now completing its analysis of social class, family background, and pupil performance for all Lansing, Mich. pupils in grades three through seven. We have identified five Lansing schools in which achievement seems independent of pupil social class. The achievement data are: local and normative; and state and criterion. We use both sets of data to identify schools in which all pupils are achieving beyond minimum objectives including most especially those children of low social class and poverty family background. We are now gathering similar data for Detroit pupils in the elementary grades in schools whose pupil population is at least 15 percent poor.

The onsite study of Lansing's effective schools as compared to ineffective schools is scheduled to commence during the 1978–79 school year. Our basic notions of the character and origin of effective and ineffective school differences derives from work we've already done in combination with ideas on school effects that I've held for a long time.[28] On the basis of the review of the literature in this paper and the "Effective Schools" project's earlier study in Detroit Model Cities and EEOS's Northeast quadrant I would offer the following with respect to the distinguishing characteristics of schools that are instructionally effective for poor children.

What effective schools share is a climate in which it is incumbent on all personnel to be instructionally effective for all pupils. That is not of course a very profound insight but it does define the proper lines of research inquiry.

What ought to be focused on are questions such as: What is the origin of that climate of instructional responsibility; if it dissipates what causes it to do so; if it remains what keeps it functioning? Our tentative answers are these. Some schools are instructionally effective for the poor because they have a tyrannical principal who compels the teachers to bring all children to a minimum level of mastery of basic skills. Some schools are effective because they have a self-generating teacher corps that has a critical mass of dedicated people who are committed to be effective for all the children they teach. Some schools are effective because they have a highly politicised parent-teacher organization that holds the schools to close instructional account. The point here is to make clear at the outset that no one model explains school effectiveness for the poor or any other social class subset. Fortunately children know how to learn in more ways than we know how to teach thus permitting great latitude in choosing instructional strategy. The great problem in schooling is that we know how to teach in ways that can keep some children from learning most anything and we often choose to thus proceed when dealing with the children of the poor.

Thus, one of the cardinal characteristics of effective schools is that they are as anxious to avoid things that don't work as they are committed to implementing things that do.

I want to close this by discussing as unequivocally as I can what seem to me the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools. They have strong administrative leadership without which the disparate elements of good schooling can be neither brought together nor kept together. Schools that are instructionally effective for poor children have a climate of expectation in which no children are permitted to fall below minimum but efficacious levels of achievement. The school's atmosphere is orderly without being rigid, quiet without being oppressive, and generally conducive to the instructional business at hand. Effective schools get that way partly by making it clear that pupil acquisition of basic school skills takes precedence over all other school activities. When necessary school energy and resources can be diverted from other business in furtherance of the fundamental objectives. The final effective school characteristic to be set down is that there must be some means by which pupil progress can be frequently monitored. These means may be as traditional as classroom testing on the day's lesson or as advanced as criterion referenced system-wide standardized measures. The point is that some means must exist in the school by which the principal and the teachers remain constantly aware of pupil progress in relationship to instructional objectives.

Two final points: First, how many effective schools would you have to see to be persuaded of the educability of poor children? If your answer is more than one than I submit that you have reasons of your own for preferring to believe that basic pupil performance derives from family background instead of school response to family background. Second, whether or not we will ever effectively teach the children of the poor is probably far more a matter of politics than of social science and that is as it should be.

It seems to me therefore that what is left of this discussion are three declarative statements. We can whenever, and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need, to do what I just said. Whether or not we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we haven't so far.

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you. You are a gifted and intriguing witness. It was a pleasure to listen to your testimony.

It has been a long time since I have heard anyone approach the careful analysis of school integration in the fashion in which you have done it. It is fascinating. My only regret is that the members

[28] Edmonds, R. R. "Alternative Patterns for the Distribution of Social Services." Equality and Social Policy, Walter Feinberg, ed. University of Illinois Press, 1978.

35-115 O - 78 - 4

of the honorable body on which I serve could not have been benefited by that analysis before they voted yesterday on the Collins amendment, which will impede school desegregation and the efforts of the Justice Department.

I have a number of questions for you.

First, in the matter of the compensatory programs paid for in the main by the Federal Government, my impression is they would not be needed if a public policy such as you advocate were in effect. In the absence of such public policy, how effective do you believe these policies to be, with particular emphasis on title I and the Headstart programs?

The second question is political: What is your assessment and evaluation of the need for a separate Department of Education? Moreover, do you believe a separate Department of Education would facilitate equity in the public schools?

My third question is a little more specific: What can I do to begin to facilitate the kind of public policy that you advocate? Because of the vested interest of private schools and the States' desire to control education, this gets to be a very touchy issue; quite frankly, I am in a quandary as to what we can do. I must confess that I very often vote for various educational programs such as Headstart based upon what has happened to the participant, rather than what has happened to the school.

Let me assure you that your status as the last member of the panel has nothing to do with the fact that the Chair is occupied by one who is black. We are not practicing a reverse discrimination. We are glad to hear from you, and if you so desire you may follow the pattern of Dr. Edmonds by summarizing your written statement.

Thank you very much for sacrificing to be with us.

STATEMENT OF DR. PAUL HILL, SENIOR SOCIAL SCIENTIST, RAND CORP.

Dr. HILL. The only discrimination I suffer is that I am being put behind a tough act to follow.

I have some prepared remarks which I submit for the record.

I will address first the effectiveness of ESEA title I, and second, the effectiveness of compensatory instruction in improving the academic performance of disadvantaged children.

I think, as a result of my research, title I is a reasonably effective program. It attains the basic objectives Congress has set for it.

Congress intended that title I direct funds to areas with large numbers of low-income children. Results of the study I directed for NIE indicate that the program is effective in doing so—in fact, title I funding patterns favor places with large concentrations of low-income children more sharply than any other Federal program of grants-in-aid to jurisdictions.

Congress intended that title I funds be used to provide additional educational services to disadvantaged children. The NIE study results show that title I does produce additional services, and that the services make a real contribution to those children's educational experience.

Congress hoped that title I services would contribute to the development of the children who receive them. Recent research indi-

cates that children in typical title I programs are growing academically at a higher rate than they would without the program.

The program, Mr. Chairman, has problems. It can do almost everything it does, better. The new ESEA bill makes a serious effort to address those problems. Title I does not solve all the problems; does not come close. Federal programs, in fact, can only go so far.

For example, the Federal Government cannot deliver educational services at the local level. It has to work through the States and localities.

Second, Federal funding is now and will continue to be only a small fraction of total funds spent on education. Title I, with over a $2.5 million expenditure, is still only 5 percent of the total expenditure of elementary and secondary education. That is spread well over 100,000 schools. That is a very small investment relative to the total scale of elementary and secondary education. A Federal program, that investment is meant to exert leverage on a very large system. I think title I does that; in fact, I think the achievement of the program is very general. It has made disadvantaged children clients of a system which has neglected them in part. That fact is not significant nor important for minority children, it is important for all children who may find themselves low achieving.

In fact, title I, despite the fact it serves many minority children, more than half the students it serves are white, 54 percent. The reasons for that are there are many white people in the country and there are many coming to school who are low achieving. Title I provides the impetus for blacks and whites who may be unrewarding to the teachers initially because they do not have the immediate response to instruction, and there is the need to give those children special attention.

I hope I am not coming out as a strong apologist for the program as the answer to our problems; I do not believe it is, but I believe it is a valuable effort.

The second topic is the effectiveness of compensatory instruction. I mean to distinguish that from the title I program; it does more.

Here I am looking at what happens to children in the classroom. Do they grow? The message is simple, disadvantaged children can now gain at the same rate per year as average children. That was not so in the early days of title I. Those first attempts showed that despite delivering special services, students receiving those services were not growing at the same rate as the average students of their age. Now, apparently, most students under title I and other compensatory programs are growing at that rate.

The improvement is caused by the greater attention and the greater pressure on the local agencies to implement programs seriously, and the guarantee of special services is given to children coming into the classroom behind others. There is no new curriculum that magically creates a greater level of achievement. It is the attention to the instruction of these children of the kind that Dr. Edmonds referred to. That really is the reason for the improving performance of compensatory instruction.

I would like to draw attention to a controversy as to compensatory instruction, that is, the summer drop-off controversy.

It was once inferred these students would gain during the school year but then forget during the summer. That led to the idea the program had a temporary effect which went away.

There is strong evidence that fear is not well-founded; that compensatory education students gain at an average rate during the year and they do not forget during the summer. Unfortunately, they do not particularly gain in their academic progress in the summer. In contrast, those of an average status or higher do not flatten out. They gain as much during the summer as they do during the regular school year. The implications are, first, that compensatory education students are catching up; they are definitely doing better than they would without compensatory instruction.

I have a much more detailed analysis of this problem I would like entered into the record.

Mr. MITCHELL. Without objection.

[Testimony resumes on p. 35.]

[The information referred to above follows:]

SUMMER DROP-OFF AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMPENSATORY INSTRUCTION

(By Paul T. Hill)*

In recent years no discussion of the effects of compensatory instruction has been complete without reference to the summer drop-off phenomenon. The knowledge that disadvantaged students fall farther behind national norms during the summer months has greatly complicated efforts to understand how much compensatory education students are learning and how much good compensatory programs are doing.

Many researchers and policymakers have taken the evidence of summer drop-off to mean that compensatory instructional programs are not doing children any good. The summer drop-off phenomenon thus has important implications for the future of compensatory education. My purpose in this paper is to explain the meaning and significance of summer drop-off. I shall argue that the drop-off is more apparent than real, i.e., that compensatory education students do not suffer any absolute decline in their academic skills during the summer.

After a brief general introduction, the paper will consist of the following sections: (1) Evidence for the existence of summer drop-off; (2) different interpretations of the phenomenon; (3) the significance of the different interpretations; and (4) implications for policy and research.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Early efforts to evaluate compensatory instruction paid little or no attention to summer drop-off. They were concerned with estimating students' gains during the school year; because the early studies were generally negative, no one thought to ask whether disadvantaged students lost their school year gains during the summer. More recent studies, however, have produced far more favorable estimates of the amount that compensatory education students learning during the school year. The series of studies conducted by SRI's Education Policy Research Center [Thomas and Pelavin (1976), Pelavin and David (1977), and David and Pelavin (1977)], has repeatedly shown that students who receive compensatory reading and mathematics instruction learn at or above the "normal" rate of 1.0 months per month of instruction during the school year. The Study of Instructional Dimensions, conducted as part of the NIE Compensatory Education Study, found even greater rates of gain during the school year for students in selected "well implemented" Title I programs. Early results of the multi-year USOE/SDC Sustaining Effects Study appear to be consistent with this pattern.

Though none of these studies showed compensatory instruction to be working uniformly well all across the country, they do indicate that many disadvantaged students are learning at a desirable rate during the school year. On those grounds

* Prepared for the CEMREL Conference on Teaching and Learning in Urban Schools, St. Louis, Mo., July 1978. This paper expresses the personal views of the author; it is not a product of the Rand Corp., nor does it represent the policy or opinions of Rand.

(especially in light of the very discouraging results of early Title I evaluations) compensatory instruction might be at least tentatively called a success. But researchers, ever cautious, have found good reasons to continue withholding judgment. Thomas and Pelavin (1976), for example, found that compensatory education students in the aggregate, were still not keeping pace with the norms for children their age. Though Title I students had attained normal rates of growth during the school year, the gaps between their performance and that of students at the 50th percentile continued to widen as the children got older. Thomas and Pelavin reasoned that the widening gap could be caused by a "summer loss." In a later study, Pelavin and David (1977) demonstrated that compensatory education students' grade equivalent scores declined over the summer. They concluded that "large increases in school year achievement are not sustained even until the next fall."

As a result of these and similar findings, discussions about the effectiveness of compensatory instruction have become both complicated and confused. Some have argued that the high rates of gain during the school year are proof that students are benefiting: They regard the recent improvements in students performance on the basic literary tests administered by the National Assessment of Educational progress as corroborating evidence that overrides any questions about summer drop-off. On the other side, some agree with David and Pelavin (1977) that "evaluations should measure program effectiveness over a period of time longer than the school year," and that, due to summer drop-off, compensatory instruction cannot be judged a success.

The latter view has had a definite impact on policymakers views of the validity of the national compensatory education strategy. During the recent preparations for reauthorization of ESEA Title I (in which I participated) several high-level HEW officials cited the summer drop-off findings as grounds for thinking that current compensatory education programs are "doing no good." Though such doubts are unlikely to cause the Federal Government to decrease its funding for elementary and secondary education, they are eroding support for the current programs of special educational services for individual educationally disadvantaged children. Alternative Federal strategies, based on less precisely targeted aid for the general improvement of instruction in selected school buildings, are gaining strong support among high officials in USOE and other parts of HEW.

EVIDENCE FOR THE SUMMER DROP-OFF

The best evidence is provided by two of the SRI reports cited above. Pelavin and David (1977) and David and Pelavin (1977) used longitudinal files of test scores obtained from a number of compensatory education programs to compare Title I students gains in grade-equivalent scores for two time periods: the standard academic year and the calendar year between entry into one grade and entry into the next. Gains for the academic year were computed as the difference in grade equivalent scores between fall and spring testing. Gains for the calendar year were computed as the difference between fall test scores in one year and fall test scores in the succeeding year. Table 1, taken from Pelavin and David, gives a representative example of their results. Table 2 (also from Pelavin and David) gives a summary of the amounts and rates of gain for the same students.

In general, compensatory education students in City M gained more than a grade-equivalent year between their entry into a grade and the beginning of the following summer vacation. Their calendar year gains, however, were much smaller. Most gained less than a grade-equivalent year in a calendar year. The difference between the larger school year gain and the smaller calendar year gain is what Pelavin and David called the summer drop-off. For students in City M, the summer drop-off was at least 2.9 grade-equivalent months (5th grade) and as great as 5.1 grade-equivalent months (3rd grade).

TABLE 1.—CITY M MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS IN GRADE EQUIVALENTS FOR THE GATES-MacGINITIE READING TESTS BY GRADE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS WITH AT LEAST THREE CONSECUTIVE TEST POINTS

Grade	N	Fall	Spring	Fall
3	272	2.23 (1.04)	3.29 (1.42)	2.78 (0.96)
4	231	2.65 (0.83)	3.58 (1.19)	3.18 (0.96)
5	980	3.26 (0.99)	4.30 (1.38)	4.01 (1.30)
6	316	3.85 (1.2)	4.78 (1.47)	4.42 (1.32)
7	128	4.35 (1.24)	5.25 (1.68)	4.95 (1.41)

TABLE 2.—CITY M ACHIEVEMENT GAINS AND MONTHLY RATES BASED ON TWO DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS WITH AT LEAST THREE CONSECUTIVE TEST POINTS

[Grade-Equivalent Metric]

		Achievement in grade-equivalent months[1]		Monthly achievement rates	
		I	II	III	IV
Grade	N	Fall to Spring	Fall to Fall	Fall to Spring (I÷7)	Fall to Fall (II÷10)
3	272	10.6	5.5	1.5	0.6
4	931	9.3	5.3	1.3	.5
5	980	10.4	7.5	1.5	.8
6	316	9.3	5.7	1.3	.6
7	128	9.0	6.0	1.3	.6

[1] The achievement is based on the means in Table 1.

Pelavin and David repeated the analysis for several cities' compensatory education programs, and most, but not all, showed compensatory education students to be farther behind at the end of the summer than at the beginning.[1] They concluded that the drop-off phenomenon is common, if not universal, among compensatory education students.

INTERPRETATION OF SUMMER DROP-OFF

The data in Tables 1 and 2 appear to demonstrate that compensatory education students know less when they report for school in the fall than when they left in the spring. Pelavin (1977) has drawn that conclusion expressly, writing that students suffer an "achievement loss" and that during the summer skills are "forgotten."

Within the past few months, however, new evidence has called the "forgetting" interpretation into question. The best recent research has shown that many compensatory education students are not suffering performance declines during the summer. Two studies of achievement during the 1976–77 and 1977–78 school years (NIE's Instuctional Dimensions Study and USOE's study of the Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education) are now producing preliminary results of fall-spring-fall comparisons for longitudinal samples of compensatory education students. These studies are important because they were both expressly designed to trace individual children's achievement growth over the summer months. Both of the studies will produce data on students' absolute achievement levels as well as their norm-referenced scores. Unlike earlier studies, which had to rely on data collected by school districts and state education agencies, these studies obtained their own test scores under very rigorous control. The OE Sustaining Effects Study, in addition, tested a very large nationally representative sample of compensatory education students. Its results on summer drop-off are clearly the best available.

Tables 3 and 4 are derived from the first public report on the Sustaining Effects Study's first public report on summer drop-off.insert

[1] The gap between compensatory education students and the national norms can widen during the summer, even if compensatory students skills do not decline. If the norm group's average performance rises over an interval of time (say, the summer), a given student's performance must rise proportionately if he is to maintain his relative position. A student whose performance does not rise will receive a *lower* score on any norm-referenced test (as, of course, will those whose performance has either fallen or risen less rapidly than the norm group's). From norm-referenced scores alone, it is impossible to know whether a particular student's performance has declined, risen, or stayed the same. Since most norm-referenced tests assume some growth during the summer, students whose performance is constant can indeed receive lower norm-referenced scores. In fact, as Stenner (1978) has demonstrated, many tests assume that students performance will increase *faster* during the summer than during the school year. Thus, substantial summer losses in norm-referenced scores can occur for students whose performance has not declined.

TABLE 3.—MEAN READING AND MATH SCORES FOR FIVE COHORTS OF STUDENTS OVER THREE TEST ADMINISTRATIONS [1]

Cohort grades	October 1976	May 1977	October 1977
		READING	
1–2	331	397	407
2–3	375	419	425
3–4	411	450	449
4–5	440	472	476
5–6	461	488	494
		MATH	
1–2	312	374	380
2–3	353	410	412
3–4	399	459	455
4–5	448	501	498
5–6	477	526	529

[1] Adapted from Hoepfner, 1978.

TABLE 4.—SPRING-FALL CHANGES IN MEAN READING AND MATH SCORES FOR FIVE COHORTS OF STUDENTS [1]

Cohort grades	Reading	Mathematics
1–2	10	6
2–3	6	2
3–4	−1	−4
4–5	4	−3
5–6	6	3

[1] Adapted from Hoepfner, 1978.

Though NIE's results will not be released until September 1978, preliminary analyses of their data have produced results similar to those in Tables 3 and 4.

The Sustaining Effects Study data present a very different picture of the summer drop-off phenomenon than was inferred from Tables 1 and 2. Disadvantaged students' achievement scores change very little during the summer: most changes are positive but all the changes are very small. The best conclusion from these data is that children's achievement neither increases nor decreases during the summer.

Two very different interpretations of the summer drop-off phenomenon are therefore possible. The first, illustrated by Figure 1, can be called "forgetting." Compensatory education students know less in the fall than in the previous spring. The second, illustrated in Figure 2, can be called "no growth in summer." Compensatory education students know as much in the fall as in the previous spring. Under either interpretation, 50th percentile students are assumed to learn at a steady rate year-round. Compensatory education students fall farther behind 50th percentile students each year, but they fall back more dramatically under the "forgetting" interpretation. The crucial difference between the two is that the "forgetting" interpretation says that a great part of what students learn during the school year is lost in the summer.[3]

[3] Practicing educators who are familiar with all children's return to the state of nature during the summer months may find it hard to believe that children do not truly "forget." It is important to remember that most fall testing takes place in October or later, long after the readjustment to school has taken place. The "forgetting" interpretation thus assumes a true loss of skills, not just a short-lived rustiness in the first week of school.

Figure 1: Forgetting.

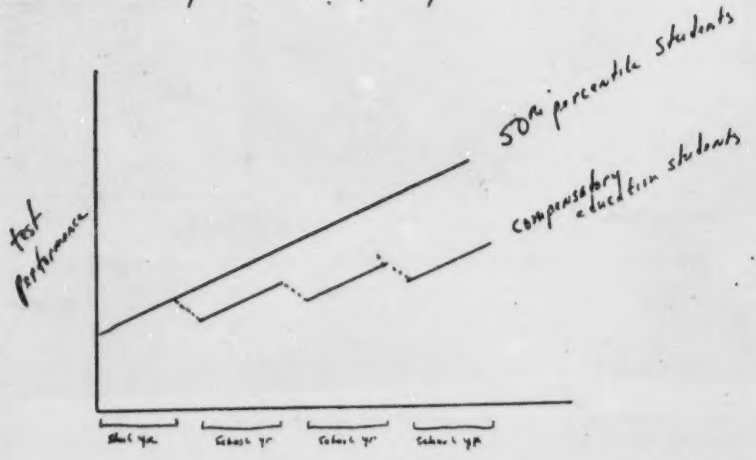
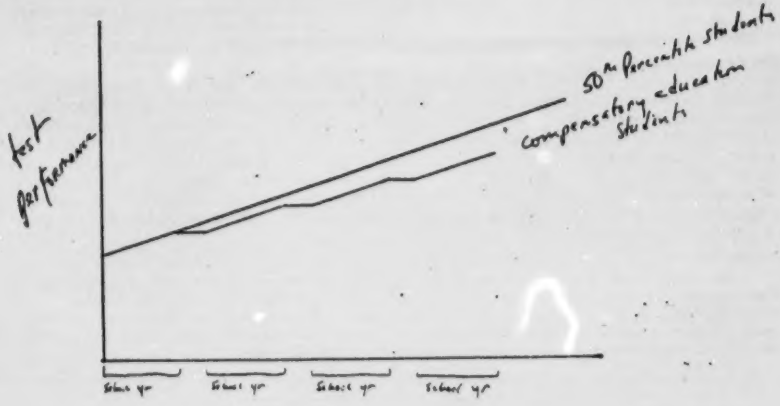


Figure 2: No growth in Summer



The "forgetting" and "no-summer gain" interpretations have very different implications for judgments about the value of compensatory instruction. To demonstrate those differences, it is important to understand the standards of judgment now being used in policy discussions:

The first, more modest standard is whether the program is doing any good for individual students. If students are learning more than they would without compensatory instuction, that standard is met.

The second, more ambitious, standard is whether the program is bringing students up to the average achievement levels of children their age. This standard is met only if the achievement levels of compensatory education students are converging on the national norms.[3]

The "forgetting" model strongly implies that compensatory instruction meets neither of these standards. As Thomas has argued, the large school year gains resulting from compensatory instruction are offset by summer losses, to the effect that students will have learned no more after several years of compensatory instruction than they would have done without it. Thus, the investment—of public money and children's time—in compensatory instruction is wasted.

In contrast, the "no-summer gain" model implies that disadvantaged children make real gains during the school year. Unlike 50th percentile students, whose skills grow even when they are out of school, disadvantaged students learn only when they are receiving formal instruction. Compensatory programs that increase students' learning rates when they are in school are thus vitally important.

As I have argued above, the best recent evidence suggests that the "no-summer gain" model is more accurate than "forgetting." On those grounds, compensatory instruction appears to meet the first standard, and not the second. It is thus doing some good, but not, according to the highly desirable second standard, doing enough to be judged an unqualified success.

The recent scholarly and policical discussion of summer drop-off has not recognized the difference between the "forgetting" and "no-summer gain" interpretations. Most, but not all, participants have implicitly adopted the "forgetting" model because it was intuitively consistent with SRI's data. (It also seemed to be the only explanation for the ever widening gap between the achievement levels of compensatory education students and the national norms. An inspection of Figures 1 and 2, however, will demonstrate that the "no-summer gain" model also explains the gap. If the term "summer drop-off" is to retain any meaning, it should be redefined to refer to this relative, not absolute, decline in disadvantaged students' learning.)

IMPLICATIONS FOR COMPENSATORY EDUCATION POLICY AND RESEARCH

This section reviews the implications of the evidence about summer drop-off for three questions: (1) whether to continue supporting compensatory instruction; (2) how to increase the gains children derive from compensatory instruction; and (3) what may be the limits of public programs of compensatory instruction.

Whether to Continue Supporting Compensatory Instruction.—A loose restatement of the conclusions of the preceding section is that compensatory instruction is doing some good, but not enough to make us happy. Whether it should be continued depends first, on the importance of the objective of raising the achievement levels of disadvantaged children, and second on the existence of more promising alternatives.

About the first, there seems to be little doubt about the strength of the national commitment to improving education for the disadvantaged. ESEA Title I, Follow Through, and state compensatory education programs have flourished through years of criticism and many discouraging evaluations. Congress is about to reauthorize Title I and fund it at more than three times the level appropriated in 1965. Those actions reflect the strength of the political coalitions behind Title I at least as much as any of the programs's technical successes. But no amount of cynicism about the legislative process can refute the conclusion that Congress supports Title I because an imperfect effort on behalf of disadvantaged children is better than none at all.

If there are more promising alternative ways of improving the achievement of disadvantaged children they are not widely known. Years of research on instructional processes has produced some progress (see, for example, Resnik, 1977) but most of it has refined compensatory instruction rather than building revolutionary

[3] A third standard, suggested by Thomas and Pelavin (1977) is whether compensatory instruction is improving the life chances of disadvantaged students. That standard cannot be given a simple quantitative meaning, since the linkage between achievement levels and life chances is unknown. If one assumes a close relationship between achievement levels and life chances, then the first and third standards are equivalent; if one assumes that life chances are enhanced only by achievement at or above the national norms, then compensatory instruction must meet the second standard.

alternatives to it. California's Early Childhood Education program (ECE) embodies an alternative approach, a general restructuring of classroom processes for all students, in hopes that disadvantaged children will benefit along with the others. This alternative is more congenial to the normal organization of schooling than the special services model normally followed in compensatory education, and it might help many students not now eligible under Title I and similar programs. There is, however, little evidence about its specific effectiveness for disadvantaged children. An evaluation of ECE now being initiated by the State of California will help determine whether classroom restructuring is a serious alternative to compensatory instruction.

Possible Ways of Increasing the Gains Children Derive from Compensatory Instruction.—Aside from technical refinements in the quality of compensatory instruction, the way to help disadvantaged children learn more is to increase the rates of learning during the summer. If children gain only when they are receiving instruction, an obvious course is to give them instruction year-round. Pelavin (1977) and other proponents of the "forgetting" interpretation are strongly in favor of summer programs; the "no-summer gain" interpretation leads (albeit less urgently) to the same prescription. There are, unfortunately, some serious problems with the summer school idea.

One is that existing summer programs do not appear to be effective antidotes to summer drop-off. Table 5 presents data from the Sustaining Effects Study on the school year and summer growth of disadvantaged students who attended summer school. Though many students made small gains during the summer, no cohort gained as rapidly during the summer as during the school year. Only one cohort (4–5 in reading) came anywhere near to learning one-third as much from summer school as from regular school year instruction.

These data confirm the common belief that existing summer school programs do not have strong effects on children's test performance. This may reflect the fact that existing summer programs are not sharply focused on basic skills instruction. If summer programs were designed as exact continuation of school year instruction, the results might be more positive.

TABLE 5.—RATIO OF SUMMER TO SCHOOL YEAR GAINS FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED SUMMER SCHOOL [1]

Cohort	Reading	Math
1–2	0.15	0.18
2–3	.14	.00
3–4	.00	.00
4–5	.23	.06
5–6	.30	.10

[1] Adapted from Hoepfner, 1978.

Cost is another problem. Few school districts can afford large summer programs, and Title I does not provide additional money for summer operations. School districts can elect to use Title I funds for summer instruction, but must reduce their regular school year effort to do so. Under the "forgetting" interpretation, it may be worthwhile to reduce school year instruction in order to support summer programs, because the school year gains can be seen as ephemeral. Under the "no-summer gains" interpretation, however, summer instruction is a poor trade for the existing school year programs: reducing the level of school year instruction risks known real gains for unpredictable effects of summer instruction. A major emphasis on summer programs should therefore await new funding.

The third problem with summer programs is insuring that the right students participate. There is no selective compulsory summer attendance law for low achieving children, and disadvantaged groups are not generally in the habit of sending their children to summer school. At present, the students most likely to receive summer schooling are the economically and educationally advantaged, whose parents pay for special training in areas of personal interest, and children of working mothers who can afford an expensive form of day care. Public summer schools would be attractive to many members of these groups. Low income families, not now in the habit of using summer schools, might be slow to respond to the opportunity. To be successful a summer school program must cope with these facts. To my knowledge nobody has thought much about how to guarantee that the children most in need of summer instruction would receive it.

On the Limits of Public Programs.—As we learn more about the summer drop-off phenomenon, we may discover the limits of the ability of public programs to overcome the achievement problems of disadvantaged children. Evidence from the most positive recent studies indicate that disadvantaged children make achievement gains only where they are receiving formal instruction. Unlike other children, they do not gain a "momentum" from their school-year experiences to carry them through the summer. Continual exposure to instruction is therefore very important; when that is not possible, either because of lack of funds or because the children themselves need relief from the regimen of schooling, the children apparently stop learning. Public programs may therefore be unable to overcome the problem of summer drop-off entirely. Until we understand how summer drop-off occurs, it will be impossible to know how, or whether, it can be combatted.

The most plausible explanations for the phenomenon concern either the children's nonschool environment or their own personal aptitudes for learning. One possible explanation is that the nonschool environment of disadvantaged children is not conducive to learning, i.e., that unlike more advantaged children they are not stimulated to practice their reading and mathematics skills at home or at play. A second possible explanation is that low-achieving children have high thresholds for responding to academic information: intense formal instruction can get through to them, but other less intense learning situations cannot.

Neither explanation appears to fit all the facts. For example, high achieving children in Title I schools apparently do not suffer a summer drop-off: those children live in the same neighborhood and thus experience much the same out-of-school environment, as the students whose academic skills do not grow during the summer. It seems clear, however, that the explanation for summer drop-off lies somewhere outside the children's schooling experience.

Developing an understanding of summer drop-off will require a mode of research that social scientists have come to label as dangerous. An examination of children's habits, attitudes, home environments, and use of leisure time will expose researchers to the accusation that they are trying to blame the deficiencies of the educational system on the victims of inadequate schooling. Such research is, however, the only way to understand the summer drop-off problem. Without it we can neither understand the limits of public policy or maximize the effectiveness of compensatory instruction. If we do not pursue these questions, only the children stand to lose.

REFERENCES

David, Jane L., and Sol H. Pelavin, "Research on the Effectiveness of Compensatory Education Programs: A Reanalysis of Data," Menlo Park, SRI International, 1977.

Hoepfner, Ralph, "A Study of Achievement Scores Over the Summer Months," Santa Monica, Calif., Systems Development Corporation, 1978.

Pelavin, Sol H., and Jane L. David, "Evaluating Long-Term Achievement: An Analysis of Longitudinal Data from Compensatory Education Programs," Menlo Park, Calif., SRI International, 1977.

Pelavin, Sol H., Statement before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, U.S. House of Representatives, November 8, 1977 (95th Congress: Hearings on H.R. 15, Part 19: Title I—Funds Allocation, pp. 492–502.)

Resnick, Lauren, "Theory and Practice in Beginning Reading Instruction," Report to the National Institute of Education, 1977 (mimeo).

Stenner, A. Jackson, June O. Bland, Earl L. Hunter, and Mildren L. Cooper, "The Standardized Growth Expectation: Implications for Educational Evaluation." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Canada, 1978.

Thomas, Thomas C., and Sol H. Pelavin, "Patterns in ESEA Title I Reading Achievement," Menlo Park, Calif., Stanford Research Institute, 1976.

Dr. HILL. The third point is level of public investment in public education. Because Dr. Tollett made specific reference to this, I am not referring to public investment in higher education. I am talking now about the elementary and secondary level. The level is justified by the fact the programs are delivering. I also think the programs could be expanded in funding by as much as 50-percent and they will not change at all. That 50-percent expansion would simply guarantee that compensatory services would be delivered to all children who need them. Now many children eligible and needy

for the services simply do not get them. An expansion in the funding of the program of that scale will not change the characteristic effect of the program. The effects of compensatory instruction will not be changed, but in terms of the equity provided by additional funding, a substantial increase could be justified.

I do not know of a competing program concept which would help disadvantaged children now more than the compensatory concept which the Federal Government is implementing now. There are local initiatives which could be more effective, but as a Federal program, I do not know that we have one invented which is more effective than this one.

I also feel a vastly greater investment of Federal funding would require a different program concept than the one we have. It would certainly deprive the Federal Government in providing general aid, not specific aid for specific children, and in many ways a greater investment might reduce the Federal leverage. I do not mean to make the point the Federal Government should stop spending where it is, but spending in the absence of improved program design is of no certain value.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my remarks.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Hill follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. PAUL T. HILL

Mr. Chairman, I am Paul Hill, senior social scientist and director of the Education Policy Research Center at The Rand Corp. I am now conducting a study of Federal management of categorical programs in education. Before joining Rand I was director of the NIE Compensatory Education Study. That study, which was mandated by Congress to evaluate title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and other compensatory education programs, produced a series of reports that were used by the House and Senate authorizing committees in their recent deliberations on ESEA. I am testifying today as a private person. The views I shall express are my own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Rand Corp. or the National Institute of Education.

At the committee's request, my testimony will address two topics. The first is the effectiveness of ESEA title I, the largest Federal program of aid to elementary and secondary education. The second topic is the effectiveness of compensatory instruction in improving the academic performance of disadvantaged children.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ESEA TITLE I

I think that ESEA title I is a reasonably effective Federal program. After 4 years of close study of the program, I am convinced that it fulfills the basic objectives Congress has set for it.

Congress intended that title I direct funds to areas with large numbers of low-income children. Results of the study I directed for NIE indicate that the program is effective in doing so—in fact, title I funding patterns favor places with large concentrations of low-income children more sharply than any other Federal program of grants in aid to jurisdictions.

Congress intended that title I funds be used to provide additional educational services to disadvantaged children. The NIE study results show that title I does produce additional services, and that the services make a real contribution to those children's educational experience.

Congress hoped that title I services would contribute to the development of the children who receive them. Recent research indicates that children in typical title I programs are growing academically at a higher rate than they would without the program.

Note that I have not said that title I has solved everyone's problems, or that it has guaranteed that every child in the country will reach a desirable level of academic skill. Those are unrealistic expectations that I believe exceed the capacity of any Federal program. Unfortunately, standards of that kind have been held up against title I and other compensatory education programs in the past.

In the past, criticism of the program has been encouraged by confusing evaluation results. Many evaluations of Federal elementary and secondary education programs have adopted a narrow view of effectiveness, assuming that the sole purpose of Federal aid is to improve the reading test scores of participating children. The fact that title I funds are used by many school districts to provide instruction in subjects other than reading, and that the quality of services delivered vary enormously from one school district to another, have been forgotten in the effort to provide a single "bottom line" effectiveness measure. The result has been that the effects of several kinds of programs--successful and unsuccessful reading programs and other unrelated programs like mathematics and social services—have all been confounded. Nobody has been able to say whether the program works or not. Opponents have argued that since the program wasn't a proven success it should be considered a failure.

The evaluations of compensatory education programs like title I have been confusing because they tried to answer a very large question with data that bore on only a part of it. In the real world, compensatory education programs are a rich and varied set of activities. No single bit of information is sufficient to answer the question of whether compensatory education works. Compensatory education involves the Federal Government, every State, and 14,000 school districts, in spending over $2.5 billion to deliver special services to nearly 6 million children. School districts exercise a wide range of choices in selecting students to receive services and decide which services to deliver. Some districts use the money only for reading programs, while others emphasize mathematics or mixtures of language arts and mathematics; some even provide needed health and nutritional services. Some districts provide very intense services to a few children, while others try to give something extra to every needy youngster.

The Federal compensatory education program is thus not a tightly coordinated activity likely to produce uniform results everywhere. Compensatory education, at least as embodied in title I, is a diverse effort that involves every level of the American educational system.

That is why simple measures of children's achievements rates are not conclusive in the debate over the value of the Federal compensatory education program. Evaluating the Federal compensatory education program is like asking whether any other broad set of activities and techniques—say, the T-formation offense in football—works. The answer has to depend on how well it is implemented in each particular instance and what problems are encountered.

Researchers and the press have taken more than 10 years to understand that the effects of compensatory education cannot be neatly summarized by the results of a reading test. In contrast, the education committees in Congress have taken a broader and more optimistic view of the program's effects. Congress has reauthorized the title I program three times, and nearly tripled its annual appropriations, despite the fact that researchers could never agree on how much the individual title I child was learning. In doing this, I believe that Congress was not stubbornly sticking with a worthless program; it was instead continuing an effort that has accomplished precisely what was intended.

The real achievement of the Federal compensatory education program is that it has caused all the States and virtually every school district to take their responsibilities to disadvantaged children seriously. In the 12 years since title I began in 1965, children in the poorest and most neglected areas have become important clients of the educational system. Children served in title I programs get measurably different and more intense instructional services than students in wealthier schools in the same school districts. Many State and local educators admit that disadvantaged children were likely to get distinctly inferior services before the advent of title I.

Title I has made its impact in several ways: First, by providing extra money so that special services to disadvantaged children did not take funds away from the regular school program; second, by regulating the use of Federal funds to guarantee that they were indeed used for special services; and third, by setting up a network of people across the country—teachers and administrators and researchers—whose professional lives were focused on improving education for disadvantaged children.

Changing the priorities of the educational system is a major achievement, especially for a program whose $2.5 billion accounts for less than 5 percent of the funds that school districts spend in elementary and secondary education each year. That is immense leverage for a relatively small national investment and surely enough to require calling the program a success.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMPENSATORY INSTRUCTION

If title I can be judged a reasonable success, the next question is whether the program is as good as it can be. Here is where the standard "evaluation" studies of children's achievement rates are useful. Those studies make two things clear: First, that compensatory education services provided through title I can pay off in substantial increases in children's achievement gains; but second, that we do not at present know how to close the whole gap between the achievement levels of advantaged and disadvantaged students.

The results of USOE's Sustaining Effects Study, a multiyear study of the achievement gains of thousands of students, indicate that during the school year compensatory education students are now learning at the rates expected for children of their ages. Other studies, directed by Joy Frechtling at NIE, have recently shown that educators have learned a great deal about how to teach elementary reading and mathematics to disadvantaged children. When elementary basic skills instruction is well organized and intelligently delivered, disadvantaged children do very well indeed. A recent study examined the growth in reading and mathematics achievement of children in several hundred compensatory education classrooms, and found that disadvantaged children learned at least as fast as the national norms for children of their age. The children in the sample were not in special laboratories, but in normal title I classrooms. Teaching methods varied enormously, and none provide to be markedly more effective than the others. The crucial fact about successful classrooms was that they had stable and well-implemented instructional programs. The implication is clear: Disadvantaged children can benefit from any of hundreds of kinds of teaching methods. The services need not be particularly fancy or innovative but they must be delivered with forethought and care.

Though compensatory education students learn from instruction at the rates expected of the national norms, they are generally not catching up with more advantaged children. Compensatory education students start out behind the average children of their age—that is why they are given compensatory education in the first place. To catch up to average achievement levels, compensatory education students must grow *faster* than their peers. At present we are not able to make that happen.

Further, compensatory education is unable to keep disadvantaged students from falling behind their peers during the summer months. During the summer, advantaged students' skills continue growing at about the rate attained in the school year. Compensatory education students generally neither gain new skills nor forget the ones they learned previously. The result is that compensatory education students "drop off" the pace of learning attained by other children of similar age.

Mr. Chairman, I have written a detailed paper on the meaning and importance of summer drop off. I would like to submit that paper for the record, and conclude my testimony with some general comments about that phenomenon.

As we learn more about summer dropoff, we may discover the limits of the ability of public programs to overcome the achievement problems of disadvantaged children. Evidence from the most positive recent studies indicate that disadvantaged children make achievement gains only when they are receiving formal instruction. Unlike other children, they do not gain a "momentum" from their school-year experiences to carry them through the summer. Continual exposure to instruction is therefore very important; when that is not possible, either because of lack of funds or because the children themselves need relief from the regimen of schooling, the children apparently stop learning. Public programs may therefore be unable to overcome the problem of summer dropoff entirely. Until we understand how summer dropoff occurs, it will be impossible to know how, or whether, it can be combatted.

The most plausible explanations for the phenomenon concern either the children's nonschool environment or their own personal aptitudes for learning. One possible explanation is that the nonschool environment of disadvantaged children is not conducive to learning, i.e., that unlike more advantaged children they are not stimulated to practice their reading and mathematics skills at home or at play. A second possible explanation is that low-achieving children have high thresholds for responding to academic information: Intense formal instruction can get through to them, but other less intense learning situations cannot.

Neither explanation appears to fit all the facts. For example, high-achieving children in title I schools apparently do not suffer a summer dropoff: Those children live in the same neighborhood and thus experience much the same out-of-school environment, as the students whose academic skills do not grow during the summer. It seems clear, however, that the explanation for summer dropoff lies somewhere outside the children's schooling experience.

Developing an understanding of summer dropoff will require a mode of research that social scientists have come to label as dangerous. An examination of children's habits, attitudes, home environments, and use of leisure time will expose researchers to the accusation that they are trying to blame the deficiencies of the educational system on the victims of inadequate schooling. Such research is, however, the only way to understand the summer dropoff problem. Without it we can neither understand the limits of public programs or maximize the effectiveness of compensatory instruction. If we do not pursue these questions, only the children stand to lose.

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you very much. I have a number of questions for you.

However, the Chair would like to comment on something which has caused me concern. Heretofore, our schools have been overcrowded, although with the end of the baby boom I saw a golden opportunity for us to begin to make our public schools effective institutions. My disappointment stems from the fact that, although this golden opportunity is presented to us, it is presented in a climate of Proposition 13 mentality; in a climate where cities are failing to approve school bond issues; and in the presence of white flight from the cities and public schools.

I feel that once again America has missed a very good opportunity to effectively direct our public schools. Instead of building up support services, we are dismissing paraprofessionals and counselors and other professionals. I want the record to reflect my disappointment over this development, but I suppose this can be expected in a society in which we have a great deal of pride over nuclear warships, and apparently very little concern or diminished concern over the well-being of our children.

Mr. Hill, my questions are about the loss of benefits after a certain grade level is reached. There are those who argue that after the fifth, sixth, or seventh grade, the compensatory programs do not continue to reflect themselves in a significant fashion.

Also, I want to spend some time addressing the NIE compensatory programs. As you may or may not be aware, there has been some controversy about these programs.

Dr. HILL. I did not know about that.

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, I will not press you on that issue.

I would like for you to comment about targeting to benefit the larger populations. You indicated that a 50-percent increase would reach more children who are in need. I am interested in the structure necessary to achieve a higher level of educational achievement.

Dr. TOLLETT. The first question was whether blacks were being steered toward 2-year colleges. I think there is some evidence, but I believe it is a general trend. The institute is in the process of doing a comprehensive review and analysis, and we have been coming up with some interesting and startling findings. It must be said at the outset that I think society generally is pushing more and more students toward 2-year colleges because they are more economical. I participated in a study as a member of the Carnegie Commission to recommend students to 2-year colleges on the theory there are five factors involved: Race, geography, income, educational background, and training.

In response to the geography component of our analysis, we recommended creating colleges contiguous to population concentra-

tions. This is one of the major factors behind the explosion in the creation of community colleges. The idea was, you would put a community college within commuting range to practically all the students. That has had a great deal to do with the increase in college enrollment. Over 50 percent of black students go to 2-year colleges, but more than 43 percent of whites are going to them, also. They are cheaper and closer since one can still live at home and go to them. Blacks being poor, naturally they are going to them in large numbers.

I must say I have had great reservations as to this development. I have suggested to our staff to examine the hypothesis the extent to which it is important for disadvantaged students to have a residential college experience.

Most community colleges are nonresidential, and I think where you need an envirolnment and complete support system for students going to college, they probably will advance better and more quickly in such a setting: and I think a number of these institutions will not serve blacks well.

My answer is, there is some evidence of steering, although I will not say all of it is race, in terms of the data. I have charged there is a certain tracking in it, but it may be just the unintended consequences of certain demographic factors.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I interrupt you for just a moment to advise the other two gentlemen that although the questions were addressed to each member of the panel, please feel free to comment or make observations on any of the questions that you may desire.

Dr. TOLLETT. On the question of dropout rate, there really has not been a substantial increase in the dropout rate, unless you might say it is a statistical quirk that would flow from the fact that larger numbers of blacks are going into community colleges, and the dropout rate in those community colleges is much higher.

The report that we are issuing tomorrow does note an interesting dropout development, that is, a spurt in the rate of dropout of black females. We have done some speculating why there has been a certain sudden increase in the dropout rate of black females in college. We have reached no definitive conclusions about it.

Our studies show that the basic educational opportunity grant program, the work-study program, and to a more limited extent the loan program have all contributed not only to the access of blacks to higher education, but their distribution and persistence. This is not to say that blacks do not drop out at larger rates than whites. We continue to do this, but it seems to be correlated with income. So much is correlated with income, and although I am not really disagreeing with my good friend and colleague Ronald Edmonds on that; I do think the studies about the relationship between income and achievement, whether it be test scores, attendance, or persistence, it does clearly indicate—they do clearly indicate the fundamental importance of employment.

If you were to ask me what is the one thing you could do to improve blacks in elementary, secondary schools, college, I would say to get full employment. I think that is the cornerstone of all policy, and I think we can correlate almost everywhere you want to characterize the pathology of blacks with employment.

Dr. EDMONDS. We do not disagree on the observation as to family. What I was talking about was more basic schooling. Before he goes on I want to fully endorse what he said. You asked me some questions about these matters. I am going to say I think the Congress should pay a different kind of attention to families than it does to strategies for school reform. But what Dr. Tollett has said is what I would say. The single thing with respect to schooling and the whole context of social service and all the rest, the one thing I would strongly recommend is if this country could have full employment, then there are staggering problems that would go away, independent of the way the schools would behave. So I enthusiastically endorse his remarks in that regard.

Dr. TOLLETT. In crime, delinquency——

Dr. EDMONDS. Well, everything would get better.

Dr. TOLLETT. I am sorry to get on that. This is a society whose humanity is directed toward a success-oriented society. A society not providing employment for teenagers is saying you are less than human. It leads to despair, privatism, and what have you. This society is writing off a whole society of black teenagers while it is trying to enforce human rights in other places.

Mr. MITCHELL. I was unclear as to how you addressed the dropout rates. I assume your remarks were with reference to the failure to complete an undergraduate program.

Dr. TOLLETT. Right.

Mr. MITCHELL. As such, there was the other problem of the dropout rate which you cited in your testimony.

Dr. TOLLETT. The financial difficulty the black community has experienced around that period moving into the recession. The family income it seems to me relates to, as I was saying, a whole series of problems. I would say the increase in dropout rate in high school is probably correlated with financial difficulties and further deterioration of the ghetto.

There is a further paradox. Some had thought with employment opportunities this would increase a certain sector of students who drop out in that they could make a living early, and since they cannot make a living immediately, they stay in school. I do not know how much merit is in that. I raise the question because it is something I think deserves research and attention. I would restate the proposition I made earlier that I am sure, overall, the impact of increased employment would be positive not only in access, distribution, and persistence in higher education, but in reducing the dropout rate in high school. In other words, I am saying the cause is primarily family income.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I ask one other question? I am going back to the 2-year community college programs.

Do you have any evidence to suggest that the returns for particular professions, nursing and other professions, are significantly different between the community college program and the regular 4-year program?

Dr. TOLLETT. No. Although there is aggregate data which would suggest you get a higher return on college attendance when you go to the more prestigious schools. There seems to be some connection there. One of the startling developments we are making—I am glad

you asked this question—there are some very good returns on 2-year degrees in medical services, medical technology, but surprisingly, although there are a large number of blacks in community colleges, they are not in all of these programs that have the best return, and although we say these are totally open-access institutions, which means anyone can enter them, but they are not totally open as to the programs within them. There seems to be some tracking of blacks within the community colleges. We were startled by this finding, and we are pursuing it closely.

What it suggests is that there are great opportunities in the community colleges in the technical fields, but we have to make sure a representative number of blacks and the poor are going into those technical fields such as a dental technician. They get paid well.

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you very much. Dr. Edmonds.

Dr. EDMONDS. The first question you asked me had to do with compensatory education effectiveness. I would fully endorse Paul Hill's analysis on page 4 if he added the word "more" in front of "seriously."

While there are probably more school districts that take teaching the disadvantaged more seriously because of the Federal presence, I do not think it is categorically accurate to say the Federal Government has been as pervasively successful in that regard as that statement suggests.

My own response to compensatory education is first it is a very valuable instructional resource when it is considered as one of a number of instructional strategies and school designs that the decisionmaker considers in responding to the general problem of teaching children who do least well under existing arrangements.

When compensatory education is taken as the overall strategy and it is the summary response to children not doing well in school, then in that event, compensatory education becomes a part of the problem. By way of illustration, the critical issue in my view is how carefully do local school people diagnose pupil eligibility for compensatory education. My own view is that very dramatic numbers of children are now participating in compensatory education that should not do so, not because there is no individual gain to be had, but because what the school is doing, willy-nilly assigning children not doing so well or who are poor, that is a way of avoiding the intervention in the life of the school.

In that context we are far less careful than we should be in allowing compensatory education to be used as a substitute for more general school reform.

The question of a separate Department of Education, I have to defer to you with this caveat: If the creation of a separate Department of Education signaled that the Congress was shifting its attention to the interaction between family background and achievement and if the Congress meant by creating a separate Department of Education that it was going to focus its attention more closely on education as an exercise in social service and stop the congressional discourse on interaction between schooling and families which confounds these things, then I would say all to the good. I would say for political reasons that might be a valuable thing to do, for substantive reasons it might be a good thing to do,

but in my view its value in moving that way depends on the context in which it occurs; that it is bound up in my last question as to what the lawmaker can do.

Creating a separate Department of Education might be one of the things a lawmaker can do if in doing it lawmakers were moving to alter the national discourse in our society on basic schooling, its origin, characteristics, and the like. I cannot emphasize the extent to which the atmosphere in the public discourse is poisoned by observations and analyses such as are to be found in the conventional analysis in Coleman's work and Jencks Inequality. In my view the Congress could perform no better service than to raise the level of our consideration on these matters. By that I mean as things presently stand, all our principal instruments of mass intellectual perception, imitate the conventional wisdom to which I refer. Time magazine, the New York Times, and the Washington Post, at their most liberal do not suggest there is anything fundamentally wrong with "Inequality's" analysis of schooling and family in the United States. And until they do, I think we will continue to be plagued by the difficulty that this basic distortion of the reality of fundamental schooling represents.

I agree again with Dr. Hill, I do not believe it profits us to see the Congress move willy-nilly to increase the level of Federal support for American schooling. I think it profits us to see a more fastidious analysis of the instructional consequences of present programs. I think it is the best strategy now and the one lawmakers can in my judgment play a greater role than any other body of opinionmakers, is that they can start us down the road of at least having a far more serious public discourse on alternative perspectives than is currently the case.

Dr. TOLLETT. May I comment on that?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Dr. TOLLETT. I have great reservation, in part growing out of a slight difference of opinion regarding what should be going on in our society. If you look at the educational systems across the world, in Europe specifically, where you have a central educational agency, you will find they have probably not matched America in the egalitarianism. And some of your universities, at Yale, have done studies on how higher education operates in other countries and here. And those countries, as they try to democratize them more, are trying to emulate the American system.

As I told someone not long ago, I would be happy to have a Department of Education that was giving some centralization to education in this country, if it would adopt completely my views. I am not sure it will do that, and since it will not, I am not excited about this. In fact, Coleman was at the Department of Education at the time of the study. I am not sure creating a Department of Education will give us a more enlightened view at all. A certain majority of social scientists seem to be expressing views such as that of Coleman.

I am not sure efficiency in the educational enterprise is not what is wanted. It is a social interdevelopmental operation. Obviously what is behind developing a Department of Education is a tidying up of organization. This is understandable, but I am not sure it is good. What creates a great problem in social science and analysis

of problems in this country, and Dr. Edmonds has already referred to that when he talked about social scientists have no more expertise than politicians, in fact probably less, because we are talking about values, and politicians are our value experts. But that is what is at stake.

Mathematical models dominating research today can tell you the number and cost of much, but the meaning and value of little. For that reason a member of the school board or Congress knows more about what they are talking about than the social scientists with their regression analysis and all that, which can prove almost anything.

What I am saying, a move to tidy up and make efficient may not serve the values of this country, and a certain competition may be helpful. This is my perceptional view. I am very skeptical of whether a Department of Education will bring any good.

Dr. EDMONDS. I do have an example of what my interest focuses on.

Ten years ago in the United States among social workers conventional wisdom said there were certain categories of children who were unadoptable. Ten years ago children over 6 months old of any color at all, anything less than what the profession called "blue-ribbon babies," were defined by the profession as first, "hard to place," but second, and more importantly, there were whole classes of children who were defined as "unadoptable."

In my judgment that was for two reasons. It had to do first with the fact that adoption in the United States is a service which is intended to help people who do not or cannot have children, more than it is intended to help children who need parents. That makes a big difference in the way you approach the phenomenon.

But the second general myth was that black people would not adopt children even if the profession reformed in a way that gave them an opportunity to do so.

In the discourse of these professions, that cannot be talked about in that way anymore. They now refer to the hard to place as being children who are mongoloid idiots or who have physical disabilities far more disabling than those mentioned before. In other words "hard to place" and "unadoptable" have come to be far more realistically descriptive.

What I want us to do in our society is to not repudiate the role of the family in schooling but to get a more accurate sense of the influence the family does have. The role of the family is least critical in the early years of pupil acquisition of basic school skills.

Obviously, when you get to the upper reaches of cognition and achievement, the family becomes a more important variable. The problem with talking about it is that at the moment we assume the family is as important to achievement in the second grade as it is in the 12th grade.

I would like us to make the progress in this regard that we have in the matter of adoption.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Hill, have you any comments as to the Department of Education?

Dr. HILL. No; when you first mentioned the NIE study, I said I was not aware of its controversy.

The first question you asked was the loss of benefits after a certain grade level. I do not think that is a necessary phenomenon. That is, there is some evidence now that above grade 7, compensatory instruction is different in design as delivered in the primary grades. It can be effective for children who are below grade level. There is a problem, definitely, that the kinds of instruction required above fourth grade are very different than the kinds required before.

As a result of title I and Headstart and analogous practices, we have made an immense investment in learning about how to teach the tiny atomistic skills which pile up finally to allow a child to read what is on a page. We have not made the progress for higher levels of reading, but we have gone far enough that compensatory instruction in higher grade levels can have an effect.

I refer you to a report by the Stanford Research Institute published last year. Mr. Chairman, I cannot find the title of it in my head, but I will be glad to send it to the committee staff which provided effectiveness evaluation for compensatory instruction above the seventh grade level.

The second question to me was the question of the NIE study, and I would be glad to entertain any details you have.

Mr. MITCHELL. Maybe the word controversy was too strong. Let me say, there are some questions which have been raised about it. For example, the report does not contain analysis of regional deviation, and a second criticism that has been raised is that there are too few comparisions of urban, suburban, or rural districts.

Now, I must confess I am not totally familiar with the report. These are some of the criticisms which have been raised. Would you care to respond to them?

Dr. HILL. I am afraid we are in the realm of too few and too many, not enough and just right.

The reports on compensatory education services that appeared in two NIE reports to Congress, one an interim report in December 1976, and another one entitled, Compensatory Education Services, submitted to Congress in July 1977, provided national average distributions of kinds of services delivered to compensatory education students and—to the degree the data would bear them—analyzed the differences among richer and poorer, smaller and larger places.

Basically, the size of the study perhaps did not permit the level of detail that you as a Congressman from one district might want. It was a national picture. I can only say that anyone who wishes there were a more detailed breakdown on a particular variable ought to call NIE and ask them if they can do it.

Dr. TOLLETT. Mr. Chairman, several remarks here cause me to want to make a couple of comments on the family funding and evaluation. Maybe I will start with evaluation, because of what Mr. Hill just said, because we think about the phenomenon in the late sixties and early seventies, which I think is still going on, although maybe not quite as bad now as it was then, and that is this phenomenon of these elaborate reviews and analyses of reforms, of the great society, what have you.

They are very much like—these evaluations of the farmer going out and digging up his potatoes or what have you every morning to

see how they are doing, picking it up and holding it in the sun—the very process itself destructive of what is really trying to be done.

I do not think there has been a fair analysis and evaluation of many of these programs because they are dealing with human beings and necessarily it takes time in a developmental process like this for the impact of these things to take effect. In fact, we are now seeing, and you just alluded to this, that compensatory education has worked much better than the early evaluations indicated. I think part of the problem was the digging up of the plants each morning and looking at them.

We know even in physics, the Eisenberg principle alludes to the fact that the very study of a phenomenon changes it. This is the reason you cannot ever locate the time and position of an atomic particle; this inescapable indeterminacy in physics I am sure is compounded, increased when we are dealing with things as difficult to encapsulate as the human psyche and emotion and feeling and interactions.

Now, the family: I am not sure the Federal Government should be bothering itself about the family. But if it is, I would suggest—and here it makes a difference in emphasis—that programs should be developed to strengthen it, if there is the wisdom to do it. Since I am afraid there is not any wisdom to do it, you may need to leave it alone. But there is a tendency to take an either/or position.

I think the family is almost as important as almost everyone says it is, but that does not mean that you cannot have interventions. In fact, I am of the opinion the social sciences is going to find that the family is more important, not less important as we go along, in dealing with the problems in our society today, the destruction of marriage and so forth; the level of women in the work force is going to require a reexamination of the family because I think it is an essential institution in our culture. I think it is extremely important and I think it shapes individuals early, but with intervention you can modify them. What I am trying to say is, it is important but you can still make interventions to overcome difficulties growing out of family disorganization.

Funding, I definitely disagree with both of my colleagues here. I think that the level of funding in higher education should be increased for two reasons, and I think in elementary and secondary education, although I do not know as much about that. If for no other reasons, where you put the funds suggests where society things are important.

I could not agree more with your statement about nuclear carriers. The question is: Is the business of this country making weapons of destruction? Or is it creating a situation in which children can be nurtured and educated? So that I would increase the level of funding.

We know that when it comes to basic educational opportunity grants, I tried to answer one of your questions—maybe I did by implication—that we need full funding there because the biggest obstacle to blacks and poor to getting an education is funds, family income. So that if BEOG program is fully funded, if work-study expanded, we will improve their participation.

Congress has been on target here. It may not be funding enough but it certainly has set the right program and policy. It has expanded educational opportunities substantially in this country as a result of its basic educational opportunity grant programs and work-study program, and it should continue.

So I would opt for expanding the funding of those programs. I would recommend increasing the funds of title III regarding developing institutions. Since I mentioned that, I take a different position from some. I think title III was primarily designed for blacks and we should openly say it.

The reason I say that, I hasten to add, in this august office building of Congress is that if you look at the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, if you engage in a structural analysis you will see those amendments were not color-blind; they were responding to the situation of blacks; the 13th amendment freed them, the 14th made them citizens, provided equal protection; the 15th tried to guarantee them as freed men the right to vote. The 1866 Civil Rights Act was trying, at the Reconstruction, to undo the mischief of the black codes of the Confederacy; that and the anti-Ku Klux Klan Act, and I could go on and on. All of this legislation, all of these amendments were responding to the situation of black folks.

Since we are still dealing with the vestiges of slavery, which particularly the 13th amendment was trying to deal with, that gives Congress the power today to be race-specific, and deal with other minority groups similarly situated.

I end on this legal point by referring to Justice Miller and the Slaughterhouse cases, which was the first interpretation of the 14th amendment, for that matter. He said he doubted ever in the history of the country that the equal protection clause and other provisions adopted at the Reconstruction would be applied except for the benefit of the slaves, the freedom for whom they were obviously adopted.

Mr. MITCHELL. I concur with your analysis of title III. The clear intent of the Congress was to help black institutions; for political reasons that has become obscured. I am convinced that we now have bureaucrats over in the Department of Education, in HEW, undermining the original intent and thrust, of the program, which was to support the historic black institutions in their development.

Dr. Eaton. Since my colleague raises the question of funding and the question of law as it relates to these matters, I just want to make two quick comments which are a basis of our modest disagreement.

The first is that in my own view the law has a very limited role in school reform; it has a significant role, but it has a very limited role. That is the law taken as a whole, in my judgment, is valuable only insofar as the Federal judiciary represents an opportunity for disenfranchised parents to subvert an otherwise intractable political process.

The problem that the law represents in school reform is that when the law is treated as though it can do something other than create the opportunity for local parents to do what local politics otherwise keep them from doing, then the law goes too far and it becomes, as compensatory education can, a part of the problem instead of a part of the solution.

The question of funding though is even more particular for my purposes in school reform. Effective schools are not for sale. I think the research literature does make that fairly clear. There is no substantial interaction between achievement and per pupil expenditure unless we are talking about extremes of per pupil expenditure.

The problem, in my judgment, with increasing Federal support for public schooling goes back to something that Paul Hill said, and that is that if the funds get any more general than they are now, then I think the Federal leverage dissipates and is lost.

The second problem is, that in some respects the money pot is almost too big, because the bigger the money pot is, then the larger the sums of discretionary money over which local school officials have control. The existence of discretionary sums of uncommitted moneys creates a community of vested interests that come to represent a very formidable obstacle to school reform and change of any kind.

What I am suggesting is that in many respects it is easier to achieve school reform when the sums of money under discussion are roughly analogous to what you need to do the job, and the argument has to be how to use it and not the movement of large sums of money that exist independent of the basic per pupil requirement. I think that is a volatile thing to talk about; it is a politically touchy thing to talk about, because obviously people in public service do not want to go around suggesting they do not need more money. They certainly need what they have. But in many respects I think it would be misleading of me to suggest that any substantial increase in per pupil expenditure in urban schools would be an effective way to talk about improvements for the children that we are interested in.

We can get much more for the money that we are spending than is presently the case, and I could endorse a 5-percent increase, I could endorse a 7-percent increase; I have to repeat that I could not, I would not recommend a 50-percent increase.

Mr. MITCHELL. Gentlemen, I could be here forever; this has been a fascinating discussion for me. But I am afraid I must stop at this point. There are additional questions and I would ask that you please respond if we send those additional questions to you.

I want to thank you. This has been a very rare opportunity for me as a Member of the House of Representatives, rare in the sense that I learned in a hearing, I learned a great deal this morning and I am genuinely appreciative of your contribution to my own individual learning process. Of course that will be shared with other members of the task force when the final transcript of the hearing is prepared.

Again, thank you, thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 11:42 a.m., the task force adjourned.]

○